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Russian Defense Minister on START II Treaty

LD1201203493 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1810 GMT 12 Jan 93

[From the "News and Views" program]

[Text] The Russian-American START II Treaty meets the interests of international security, the Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev told Radio Moscow. This event is a new stage in the joint efforts of Russia and the United States to reduce the arsenals of strategic nuclear weapons. In the spirit of the charter of Russian-American partnership and friendship and in keeping with the July 1992 framework understanding, President Yeltsin and President Bush signed the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty START II.

The main purpose of the treaty is to guarantee the security of Russia and the United States with a much lower nuclear potential of the sides and thus strengthen strategic stability. The aim will be reached by reducing the nuclear charges of the two countries to 3000 and 3500 units by 1 January 2003 or by two-thirds. The two sides should stand by their commitments under the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty signed on 26 May 1972. The United States will scrap all its modern intercontinental MX ballistic missiles. The number of nuclear charges on the Minuteman 3 intercontinental ballistic missiles will be reduced by two-thirds. The reduction of ballistic missiles on submarines will be even greater. There will be cuts in nuclear bombers. It is important that the American side will reduce its most high-precision modern warheads including Trident 2, which arouse special anxiety in Russia. It is also important that the United States is ready for actual, not theoretical cuts of nuclear charges in strategic aviation. Thus the list of reductions will include in addition to long distance cruise missiles, guided short-range missiles and airborne nuclear bombs.

The Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev says that under the Start II Treaty, Russia has pledged to scrap the second half of heavy stationary intercontinental ballistic missiles remaining after the implementation of the START I Treaty. On the one hand these heavy ballistic missiles always arouse the anxiety of the United States. On the other, they could potentially become the main target of a pre-emptive first strike at the Russian strategic nuclear force.

General Grachev said that the Russian leadership proceeded from economic considerations as well as military-strategic and political when it signed the START II Treaty. When it agreed to eliminate heavy ballistic missiles, Russia renounced (?the plan) of their further modernization and production.

General Grachev stressed that what he said does not mean that Russia is losing its nuclear potential on land. On the contrary, the strategic nuclear force that is being built with an eye on the Treaty will give Russia in the year 2003 and afterwards a deterrent against nuclear aggression from any potential direction against Russia and its allies.

The defense minister said that in the nearest future the treaty will be widely debated at different levels. Ministry experts are ready to give exhaustive answers to any concrete questions. Firstly to prove that the decision is correct, and secondly to prepare the treaty for ratification by the parliament.

Pavel Grachev stressed that the attitude of the other nuclear CIS countries to the START II Treaty is positive. The treaty would not have been signed if the leaders of CIS countries having strategic nuclear arms in their territory doubted its usefulness.

The Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev made these statements in reply to questions from Radio Moscow.

Russian Opposition Questions 'Haste' in START

PM1201145793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Jan 93 First Edition p 2

[Report by parliamentary observer Aleksandr Linkov: "Press Conference. Opposition States Its Position"]

[Text] The parliamentary opposition in the shape of the "Russian Unity" bloc does not intend to unconditionally give its consent to the ratification of the START II Treaty signed by the Russian and U.S. presidents on 3 January.

This was stated at a press conference by S. Baburin and M. Astafyev, the bloc's leaders. They explained their very categorically negative attitude to the document above all by citing the fact that Russia still has no clear-cut foreign policy concept.

The opposition also has doubts about the haste with which the document was prepared and signed by the heads of the world's two most important powers. When it comes to G. Bush, who is enjoying his last few weeks in power, everything is clear—he wants to go down in history as a great peacemaker. But why has the Russian president acted so hastily? What goals is he pursuing?

There are only a few days to go before the opening of the next Russian Supreme Soviet session. Amid a large number of draft laws the START II Treaty will also be submitted for the parliamentarians' judgment. Judging by the initial reaction of opposition representatives S. Baburin and M. Astafyev, the document will not be met with acclaim in the White House.

Ukraine Using START Process To Gain Dollars

PM1201092193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Jan 93 First Edition p 1

[Vladimir Tyurkin "Viewpoint": "Kiev's Nuclear Temptations, or Is Bargaining Appropriate Here?"]

[Text] God moves in mysterious ways. Russia and the United States, which possess 95 percent of all the world's nuclear weapons, have agreed to reduce them to a level comparable with other nuclear states—France and Great Britain. That is to say, in signing the START II treaty they have redrawn the military-strategic map of the world, but all Western, and also Eastern newspapers and radio stations, and indeed our own, day after day, as if by agreement, mention only Ukraine in this respect. And sometimes Belarus and Kazakhstan as well. Moscow and Washington are seemingly of no account.

And that is true as well. If, Germany's pedantic SUED-DEUTSCHE ZEITUNG calculates, "these countries do not destroy their missiles, by 2003 they will possess the same quantity of nuclear weapons as the United States and Russia." The nuclear monster, whose head Presidents B. Yeltsin and G. Bush had seemingly severed during the 1993 New Year's holiday, has begun to grow new ones before the very eyes of the Western man in the street. "After the signing of the START II treaty between Russia and the United States," the London DAILY TELEGRAPH writes, "the attention of the international community has switched to Ukraine, the third largest nuclear state in the world, which has still not ratified START I." In other words, the treaty which concerns "Ukrainian" missiles.

Fear puts things out of proportion. It appears that the case in question is no more than a typical confirmation of this. First, Belarus and Kazakhstan are ready, without any equivocations, to give up the nuclear burden. Second, Ukraine, if one examines its "special position" carefully, is unlikely ever to have set itself the goal of joining the nuclear club, in which membership dues are high, and the profits illusory.

That Kiev has, it would appear, succumbed to the temptation to use the nuclear trump card to "break the dollar bank" is another matter. In other words, it is trying to loosen the purse strings of those whom the yellow-and-blue [Ukrainian] missiles cause the most discomfort—the Americans. Of course, they could be retargeted somewhere else, but there are not all that many targets capable of handsomely handing over $150 million to Kiev for work connected with the elimination of weapons. Well, the United States more than others fought for market relations and sovereignties in our corner of the world, so it is now obliged in a certain sense to accept the rules of the game of Sorochintsy Fair [typical boisterous Ukrainian country market featured in short story by Gogol].

Kiev has delivered an equally tough, if not tougher, financial ultimatum to Moscow too. It is a question of compensation in dollars for the fissionable materials contained in the missiles' warheads. Since the missiles, according to accords reached earlier, are due first to be handed over to Russia, and then their innards sold to the United States, Kiev is demanding its share. It is suggested that L. Kravchuk's forthcoming visit to Moscow is not least connected with this problem.

Finally, it was by no means possible to withstand the temptation to demand "security guarantees." From Russia, it should be understood. Well, guarantees are not cash in hand, and it is likely that Kiev will obtain them easily enough. There is evidence that there will be no particular holdups on the nuclear-related financial questions either.

All fine and dandy, except it is still difficult for our backward administrative-edict consciousness to accept bargaining over atomic-hydrogen bombs. Especially if, God forbid, things get held up because of them. This is how we look from the outside in this light: "The former USSR is gradually turning into one big nuclear bazaar," Germany's DIE WELT believes, and not only because in this country "you can buy at a discount any nuclear weapons component," but also because "disagreements between Kiev and Moscow over the problem of parceling out the nuclear arsenals of the former USSR are creating significant obstacles on the road to nuclear disarmament and could delay the implementation of START II."

I think, however, that the forthcoming meeting of the Russian and Ukrainian presidents will manage to resolve this problem, which one or two people have to a great extent blown up artificially.

START Ratification Difficulties Foreseen

PM1201161993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jan 93 Morning Edition p 3

[Stanislav Kondrashov article: "Old Prescriptions of Glasnost Applied to New Treaty"]

[Text] At the START II Treaty signing ceremony Boris Yeltsin was more than effusive with praise, declaring that it is "not every century" that such events happen in history. He is right. With one elaboration: It is not every century but just one, the 20th, that has created such a monster as nuclear weapons. Correspondingly, the task of taming this monster as far as possible has not arisen every century. Thank God that toward the end of this century, striking the pose of Gogol's Taras Bulba, the two chief nuclear powers have said: I created you, and I will reduce you by two-thirds.

Fine! It is distressing, however, that in his impassioned speech at the signing ceremony the Russian president did not find words, even fleeting ones, to thank those who sweated before him over the historic task of reducing and eliminating nuclear weapons—both in the Kremlin, on Staraya Ploshchad [headquarters of former CPSU], and at both ends of the Old Arbat [reference to Foreign Ministry and either U.S. and Canada Institute or former USSR Defense Ministry], and also in countless movements and organizations of supporters of nuclear disarmament (they were not all KGB agents). History, truly "good" history, starts from the day when, together with my colleagues, I came to power in this place [ya votsarilsya v etom meste]—this, alas, was the old subtext which

complicated my impression of the ceremonial, optimistic prologue to the new year of 1993 which we saw in the Kremlin's bright and elegant Vladimir Hall.

George Bush was placed in an awkward position, since he could not mention that the previous START I Treaty, albeit not as radical but also of considerable importance, was signed by him in that same Kremlin with Mikhail Gorbachev. It was, however, not just memory and a human sense of gratitude but also the elementary norms of diplomatic etiquette or, if you like, civilization that demanded this of the U.S. President, who is leaving the stage.

Why does Boris Yeltsin lack the Christmas spirit of fraternity and reconciliation turned to face not just outside but also inside the country? What prevents him from displaying sincere breadth and generosity, those traditionally Russian properties which, moreover, are almost obligatory for any democratically elected president by virtue of his post?!

In my view, these side issues do not appear superfluous in the light of what is to come. An extremely important and really historic thing has been done, but what is needed in order to see it through to the end and bring the treaty into force is not the spirit of denial and confrontation but a search for concord and the ability not to push away but to bring nearer and convince those who vacillate and disagree. I am talking, of course, of the process of ratifying the treaty in the Supreme Soviet. It is generally held that this promises to be a difficult process.

Russia must cast off the burden of nuclear arms inherited from the Soviet Union, for they are beyond both the reach and the "rank" of a country which has renounced superpower status. On the other hand, the remaining 3,000 strategic nuclear warheads can be precisely the most reliable and effective guarantee of its adequate security and—in the absence of a strong economic base—the primary basis of its political and geopolitical weight in the world.

The "intransigents" are inclined automatically to reject everything that comes from the Yeltsin administration. But many other Russian parliamentarians are certainly not 100-percent convinced that, by eliminating the strongest aspect of our strategic triad—multiple-warhead land-based ICBMs—we essentially are not handing to the United States the keys to our security. The legislators have a legitimate right to doubts, until it has been proved to them that even at this dizzy turn of history Russia is leaving its fate in its own hands. To make the proof appear irreproachable, parliamentary hearings must be scrupulous and carefully organized. Nobody doubts the respectability of the drafters of the treaty, but their thoroughness should be checked from all sides by painstaking independent experts.

For the standard of state leadership in our country leaves something to be desired, to put it mildly, and, although the times have changed radically, it has not risen at all since the time when, let us suppose, decisions were adopted on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary and Czechoslovakia without having prepared "winter quarters." The proud praising of the Stakhanovite pace which made it possible to do far more in six months than was done during the 15 years of preparations for the START I Treaty could have a reverse side to it, revealing typical Russian overconfidence.

In fact, this has already happened. It was no coincidence that the timing and venue for the treaty signing remained unclear until the very end of December, and substantial amendments, which at first the Americans did not want to accept, were made—at the insistence of the Russian military—to the June "framework agreement" between Yeltsin and Bush. As is known, the main disagreements concerned the fate of the launch silos for the SS-18 missiles which were to be destroyed—how many of these silos could the Russian side keep to use for other weapons? The Americans had to yield, just as on the question of counting the nuclear warheads on strategic bombers.

It has to be thought that billions of rubles have been saved in the case of reequipping the missile silos, and the financial burden of the accelerated race for nuclear disarmament has been eased. A simple calculation shows that in the space of 10 years—through 2003—Russia is faced with destroying approximately 7,000 strategic nuclear weapons (instead of the 9,915 present ones there will be 3,000 at the end of the treaty path). This is approximately two warheads every 24 hours, even including weekends and holidays. The first seven-year stage will be still more strenuous. We do not have such capacities of our own—we rely on U.S. assistance. Is there such money for disarmament under conditions of economic ruin which will not end tomorrow? The Americans will help in some respects, but they will not bust a gut for the Russians. In any case, the business of Ukraine, which is soliciting dollars for its nuclear-free status, attests that Washington does not want to set "dangerous precedents for payment of a ransom for abandoning nuclear arms" (as a Washington expert put it).

Boris Yeltsin has an answer to this: The cost of disarmament is exponentially lower than the cost of simply maintaining the nuclear forces that are to be reduced. The argument is impressive, but it too has to be substantiated with figures, facts, and other computations to hand. They must also be accessible to ordinary citizens, not just to people's deputies.

So, the maximum glasnost and conclusiveness. The maximum tolerance and respectfulness toward those who voice doubts on the part of those who are "in the know" and are convinced. Even if there is a hint of prejudice and political hostility in the doubts. Otherwise both branches of power will lay mines on both sides with their own hands, rendering the path toward ratification of the new Moscow treaty politically dangerous.

Ukraine's Tarasyuk on Nuclear Disarmament Issues

MK1201132593 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Jan 93 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Ukrainian Deputy Foreign Minister Borys Tarasyuk by Vladimir Skachko and Vladimir Savtsov; place and date not given; carried under "Ukraine" rubric under general headline: "West Insists on Ukraine's Nuclear Disarmament"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Borys Tarasyuk, chairman of the national committee for disarmament questions and Ukrainian deputy foreign minister, talked to NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's correspondent about Ukraine's position on nuclear weapons issues.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] There is an opinion that Ukraine proclaimed itself a nonnuclear state so hastily in order to obtain diplomatic recognition as quickly as possible.

[Tarasyuk] The assertion that Ukraine hastily declared itself a nonnuclear state with a specific aim—to guarantee itself international recognition—does not agree with the facts. As you know, the Supreme Soviet declared Ukraine's future intention to become a nonnuclear state way back in the Declaration of State Sovereignty of 16 July 1990 and then confirmed this intention in the statement of 24 October 1991, and in parliament's decree of 9 April 1992. Thus the Ukrainian parliament had sufficient time—over two years—to check the correctness of its choice.

Indeed, most Western states made diplomatic recognition conditional upon Ukraine's acquisition of nonnuclear status. This was the period of struggle for the very idea of a militarized undemocratic Ukraine and for its acceptance by our potential partners. The worst thing that could have happened at that time was for the world to accept Ukraine as a militarized undemocratic state desperate for nuclear weapons. But this is precisely how the opponents of Ukraine's statehood tried and are still trying to portray it. While statements like "Ukraine, by proclaiming its intention to become a nonnuclear state, has weakened its defense potential," are groundless.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] Charity does not enjoy great popularity in big-time politics; everyone defends his own interests. If you look at things from this viewpoint, what specifically did Ukraine gain by declaring its nonnuclear status?

[Tarasyuk] The intention proclaimed by Ukraine to acquire the status of a nonnuclear state in the future became a kind of passport to the international community of civilized countries. It is one of the conditions without which Ukraine cannot participate in international economic and scientific and technical relations on the principles of equality. Moreover, had Ukraine made the opposite choice, it would have had applied to it—and our Western partners tell us this frankly—all the levers of political, economic, and psychological pressure.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] Certain people are saying that if Ukraine relinquishes nuclear weapons it will become a "second-rate" state....

[Tarasyuk] It is hard to agree with this. Nonnuclear Japan, Germany, and Italy belong to the Group of Seven, whose sessions discuss and to a certain extent solve the most important economic and political questions affecting the interests of all the world's other states too. In current conditions a particular state's clout in world politics depends less and less on the presence of nuclear weapons and more and more on the rate of its scientific and technical progress on the road toward the so-called postindustrialist society. We have only just embarked on this road, and it is quite obvious that nuclear weapons will not help but merely hinder Ukraine in achieving its aim—admission to the circle of the world's most developed and influential states. In order to develop our economy, we need a favorable attitude from our partners and the confidence of potential investors in the internal stability of our society. Nuclear weapons lead directly to the opposite effect. The West is indeed paying attention to us, but concern and alarm are the reason for this.

I want to stress that even after the complete withdrawal of nuclear weapons from our territory and the arms reduction under the CFE Treaty, numerically Ukraine will have the third-largest army in Europe and the largest not counting Russia and Turkey, which are Eurasian states. We will be able to protect ourselves even without nuclear weapons.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] Let us imagine that Ukraine decided to remain a member of the nuclear club. Is it in a position autonomously to ensure that the nuclear weapons are safely maintained?

[Tarasyuk] Nuclear complexes consist of four main elements: a broad and profoundly secret basis of specialist scientific knowledge and technologies; weapons-grade uranium and plutonium enrichment enterprises; nuclear weapons manufacturing enterprises; and a nuclear test site. While the first three elements can be created through the entire Ukrainian people's efforts given multibillion expenditures, the holding of nuclear tests on Ukrainian territory is precluded. The same infrastructure is also needed to maintain the nuclear warheads inherited by Ukraine from the former USSR in a safe condition. Each of them has a guaranteed life on the expiry of which it is subject to disassembly and complete reprocessing. Most of the warheads stationed on Ukrainian territory have already used up a considerable part of their guaranteed service life. But once a certain time has elapsed following the end of the guaranteed life, even those enterprises which were assembling nuclear warheads will not accept them for disassembly. It simply becomes dangerous.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] Ukraine transported 1,000 nuclear warheads to Siberia, but did not receive a

cent for it. At the same time Russia and the United States are agreeing on the sale across the ocean of the nuclear innards of the warheads being dismantled.

[Tarasyuk] As regards the use of the nuclear components of the weapons stationed in Ukraine, we have received the United States' assurance that it will not sign with Russia the draft agreement concerning this, which has already been initialed by these states at a cost of over $5 billion, until an accord has been reached between Russia and Ukraine on fair compensation to Ukraine for the nuclear components of the strategic and tactical warheads belonging to it. The accord with the United States does not preclude other options for using the highly enriched uranium and plutonium from the warheads stationed in Ukraine. Talks with Russia on this will begin in the near future. In the event that the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet adopts an affirmative decision on the ratification of the START Treaty, and if it proves possible to reach an accord on fair compensation to Ukraine for the nuclear materials in the weapons removed from its territory, then it would be possible to agree that the disassembly of the nuclear warheads on the strategic and offensive weapons that still remained on Ukrainian territory be carried out in Russia.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] THE NEW YORK TIMES writes that some Ukrainian people's deputies adhere to pronuclear sentiments and are advising the United States to "start paying attention to the Ukrainian parliament and not only to the president's administration." The Americans' aim is clear—and they are certainly not hiding it—which is to persuade the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet that Ukraine must subscribe to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and sign the START I Treaty. What are the terms for the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet's ratification of these treaties and what is the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry doing in this context?

[Tarasyuk] On the president's instructions, the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry is working intensively with a view to, first, ensuring that Ukraine is given guarantees of its national security from the nuclear states. It is a question of the nuclear states' making a political commitment in the form of an appropriate document stating that they will regard as unacceptable any use or threat of force against Ukraine on the part of the nuclear states. Needless to say, this kind of commitment does not itself guarantee Ukraine's security, but it will be of tremendous political and legal importance. Second, with a view to obtaining from the United States and other Western countries financial aid in eliminating nuclear arms and receiving fair compensation for the nuclear components of the warheads and tactical nuclear missiles which have been removed from Ukrainian territory, as well as of the strategic offensive arms, if it is decided to disassemble and reprocess them at Russian enterprises. The specific figures are the subject of the talks that have been under way for the last four months. These questions are also being discussed at consultations with other Western states. To date the United States is willing to allocate $175 million to this end, and $10 million to set up a science and technology center in Kiev. Another of the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry's concerns is for Ukraine to receive aid in tackling certain environmental problems. I refer to a whole series of measures associated with the elimination of strategic and offensive arms and, in particular, with the liquid-fueled RS-18 missiles. These measures will in the future help resolve the ecological problems facing Ukraine and also help us obtain from the United States technologies permitting the recovery of the highly toxic substances.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] What will happen if the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet does not ratify the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and START I?

[Tarasyuk] If Ukraine abandons its policy of acquiring nonnuclear status, the reaction from other states will undoubtedly be extremely negative. Strictly speaking, we are already witnessing this response today. Incidentally, some of our partners are revealing inordinate impatience and resorting to the shrillest of demarches. We have not and will not let this go unanswered. We are after all talking about a normal process that requires consideration and responsibility. At the same time one can predict with certainty the curtailment of Ukraine's economic, financial, scientific, and technical relations with other countries, the suspension of Western economic and humanitarian aid, and the employment of various sanctions even as far as introducing a trade embargo.

However, on the question of the treaty's ratification by the Ukrainian parliament I am an optimist.

Commentary Explains Ukraine's Nuclear Stance

AU1301080593 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 11 Jan 93 pp 1, 3

[Valentyn Labunskyy commentary: "'START' is Too Serious To Afford Dealing With It in a Hurry"]

[Text] The signing in Moscow by the presidents of Russia and the United States of START II—the treaty on the limitation of strategic weapons—became a historical event of planetary scale. The treaty envisages the reduction, **by two-thirds**, of the most powerful and destructive nuclear arsenals of the sides. For the United States, this will signify destruction of a huge quantity of strategic missiles carried by heavy bombers and submarines, and for Russia—land-based missiles.

The world enthusiastically welcomes the signing of START II. Nor was it left outside attention in Ukraine: President Kravchuk highly appraised the treaty that has become a pledge for building a future nuclear-free world. However, immediately after Presidents Yeltsin and Bush shook each other's hands after signing START II and before the ink dried, the Ostankino Television Company declared that the Ukraine parliament was blocking the fulfillment of the treaty because it allegedly was in no hurry to ratify START I.

As for haste, it is only good for catching fleas; regarding Ukraine's position on the issue of nuclear disarmament, it was the first among the nuclear republics of the former USSR that declared its intention to get rid of the deadly weapons and is firmly adhering to this policy. However, there are several reservations here.

First, after tactical nuclear weapons have been transferred to Russia, one can increasingly often come across emissaries of various Russian MP's [expansion unknown] and SP's [joint ventures] offering at legal and black markets their goods—weapons-grade plutonium—the stuffing from our nuclear missiles. Moreover, official Russian state structures (for example, the Ministry of Power Engineering) are engaged in such "trade." It appears that we, at our own expense, transferred our missiles to Russia for destruction and our neighbor shamelessly makes profit on this.

Second, Ukraine's unilateral and full nuclear-missile disarmament, stipulated by START I and START II causes its people to feel anxiety, which is not groundless, regarding their future security. Much time will pass before we forget the "joke" by Boris Nikolayevich [Yeltsin] who declared the possibility of exchanging nuclear strikes between Russia and Ukraine. Where is a guarantee that Russia will not use a "nuclear stick" tomorrow in order to force its former "sisters" to sign some CIS statute to restore the Union?

Third, Ukraine's nuclear disarmament will not only be to the benefit of its people. It is for the good of the entire mankind. It is not our fault that once the cruel and militarized empire stuffed our land with nuclear death. Its elimination today means quite extensive expenditure and distress. Ukraine has reason to expect that international community will help it with specialists, technologists, and finance.

Well, Ukraine is ready to ratify START I provided that it receives guarantees that its nuclear weapons will not be sold and that our country will be given serious guarantees for its future security and financial support.

Regarding accusations to the effect that Ukraine's Supreme Council is delaying the ratification of START I, on the contrary, an authoritative commission was created in the Ukrainian parliament long ago for studying all the nuances of the problem. This commission works to offer its proposals to the session and recommend that the treaty be ratified.

Unfortunately, Russia is better equipped to influence world public opinion and does not always use its possibilities in an honest manner. That is why the visit to the United States by the governmental delegation headed by Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs B. Tarasyuk has become invaluable for Ukraine in this respect. Meetings with President Bush at the Pentagon and State Department have helped the Americans and the whole world to understand our position. It lies in the fact that we strive to become nuclear-free, but not defenseless and deceived.

Ukraine's Position on START II Ratification

LD1101214693 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 0830 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Now we are speaking live to Kiev. [passage omitted] Correspondent Vladimir Iuriyevich, hello.

[Sokolov] Hello. The recent signing of START II, that is to say, on strategic offensive weapons, has heightened international attention to the position of Ukraine regarding nuclear disarmament. The fact is that this treaty cannot be implemented unless the previous treaty, START I, is fulfilled. Ukraine has still not ratified it, although it insists on its status as a non-nuclear state. This is particularly worrying because Ukraine ranks third in the world in nuclear potential, after the United States and Russia.

Various speculations have already appeared on this subject. Thus only a few days ago, there appeared in mass media abroad, and in Russia too, unfortunately, conjectures that Ukraine was not even preparing for Supreme Soviet ratification of START I. In response, the press service of the Supreme Soviet has issued a statement, which boils down to the fact that very thorough preparations are under way to ratify the treaty; a special group of deputies has been specially set up for this, and parliamentary commissions drawn in.

The issue of ratification itself is being proposed immediately for the forthcoming session of the Supreme Soviet. At the same time, however, Ukraine is putting forward a range of conditions: First, that it will have a guarantee of protection from nuclear attack after it has liquidated its nuclear arsenal; second, that it will receive financial aid for the large expense involved in destroying this arsenal, which President Leonid Kravchuk has estimated as being at least $1.2 billion; and third, a demand was recently put forward that Ukraine be compensated for the cost of the nuclear components being removed from the warheads.

It is with this range of problems that representatives of Ukraine, headed by Boris Tarasyuk, deputy minister of foreign affairs, who also heads the State Committee on Nuclear Disarmament, and Ivan Bizhan, deputy minister of defense, left last week for the United States. They were faced with having to continue the consultations started last spring during a visit to Kiev by U.S. representatives. The Ukrainian delegation was received by President Bush. It had meetings at the State Department, the Pentagon, the Security Council, and in Congress, and also met with academics and businessmen.

On its return to Kiev, Boris Tarasyuk held a press conference yesterday for Ukrainian and foreign journalists at which he announced that all consultations in the United States were highly constructive. The position of Ukraine regarding START I and the Lisbon Protocol on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons was, naturally, at the heart of the discussion. As he said, the key question

was that of guarantees for Ukraine's national security. Initially this demand of Ukraine was regarded as far-fetched, but over the course of the consultations it gained the understanding of the U.S. side. It was agreed that these guarantees must be secured in a joint declaration of the heads of the leading nuclear powers at the very least with the pledge not to allow a threat or the use of nuclear weapons against Ukraine, which would possibly also be supported by the UN Security Council. A corresponding document is already being elaborated, Boris Tarasyuk added.

Ukraine's position regarding financial aid for implementing START I also met with understanding. Obviously in connection with this, in a personal message from Leonid Kravchuk which the delegation handed to President Bush, a proposal is put forward regarding the creation of an international special fund for nuclear disarmament. It is after all precisely on financial means that the practical period for the implementation of START I will depend if it is ratified by the Supreme Soviet.

Regarding Ukraine's delay in ratifying the treaty, the U.S. side recognized the right of Ukraine to make thorough preparations for adopting such an important document and also realized that the absence of clear agreement with the Russian Federation on the conditions, place, and form of the dismantling and destruction of nuclear warheads located on the territory of Ukraine is slowing things down, as is the lack of agreement on compensation for their nuclear components, in particular slightly enriched uranium for nuclear plants which Russia is meanwhile selling to Ukraine. As Boris Tarasyuk pointed out, talks on this are being drawn out by the Russian side.

Journalists also touched on the question of rumors that Ukraine is allegedly preparing its own codes for controlling strategic nuclear missiles. Tarasyuk rejected these rumors by confirming that decisions on the use of strategic missiles, as agreed in the CIS, come within the remit of the president of the Russian Federation, after the matter has been agreed with the presidents of other nuclear republics of the Commonwealth. But at the same time, the president of Ukraine has a real possiblity to block the launch of missiles.

At the press conference, the question of the outlook for the ratification of START I by the Ukrainian Parliament was, naturally, also raised. Boris Tarasyuk admitted that all the problems which are being talked about make ratification extremely difficult, especially as there are also forces in the Supreme Soviet demanding that Ukraine should not hurry to give up her nuclear weapons. However, he expressed the hope that this treaty, nonetheless, will be ratified.

[Announcer] Vladimir Iuryevich, I deliberately did not interrupt your account. It was a very complete and sufficiently well argued one. I have just one question. I believe you talked about the ratification. Tell me, what would be the time-scale for this at the session?

[Sokolov] It will not be earlier than March.

[Announcer] So, no earlier than March.

[Sokolov] Yes. Possibly a bit earlier, perhaps at the end of February. Just now the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine is on vacation, so to speak, and will not resume the session until the last 10 days of the current month.

Analyst on Chance of START II Ratification

LD1201132793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1248 GMT 12 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—"There are 50-50 chances that the START II Treaty will be ratified. This will happen only provided Washington manages to cope with Kiev's nuclear ambitions," political news analyst Tomas Kolesnichenko points out in the newspaper "24".

The analyst's opinion is that Kravchuk will try to exchange the prestigious status of nuclear power for millions-worth compensations, which Washington, particularly as represented by the incoming administration of Bill Clinton, is quite unwilling to do.

The newspaper notes that it would be difficult for Russian Foreign Ministry spokesmen to defend in parliament those points of the START II Treaty in which Moscow voluntarily yields the palm to Washington.

Specifically, the United States retains its sea-launched multiple-warhead missiles while Russia virtually destroys the basic component of its nuclear triad—land-based missiles. The question concerning the other possessors of nuclear weapons—Britain, France and China—also remains open.

Touching upon the economic aspect of the problem, the newspaper draws attention to the fact that it would bring about great financial difficulties for Russia. The sum of 400 million dollars, which the U.S. assigns for the elimination of missiles, is only a fraction of the necessary funds and that an appropriate adjustment is needed in this respect.

'Red Square' Participants Discuss START II

LD1001184993

[Editorial Report] Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian at 1455 GMT on 9 January broadcasts the 40-minute "Red Square" program, during which the program participants discuss the START II Treaty.

The program is presented by Aleksandr Lyubiomov, and the participants are Andrey Kokoshin, Russia's first deputy defense minister; Aleksandr Piskunov, deputy chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet Defense and

Security Committee; and Vladimir Kryzhanovskiy, Ukrainian ambassador to Russia and Ukrainian people's deputy. Political analyst Andranik Migranyan also participates in the discussion. Throughout the program the Ukrainian ambassador is not shown with Kokoshin and Piskunov.

Asked why the START II Treaty was signed in such a hurry, Kokoshin says: "I think to a considerable degree it became possible because an enormous amount of experience in conducting similar talks has been accumulated; indeed, we have been having a dialogue with the Americans on strategic offensive weapons and ABM defense systems since the late 1960s. Over this period we have worked out the system of main coordinates in which the talks are conducted, and the language, the special semantics of the talks, and the idea of strategic stability [ustoychivost], without which we could not have reached the ceiling we have reached at present as a result of this treaty. Thus, the speed with which this treaty was concluded is to a considerable degree explained by what has been done since the late 1960s."

Lyubimov says he has the feeling that the Russian Government is afraid of Clinton. Piskunov says: "I do not have that sort of feeling, but I suspect that the Russian Government realized that it will not be easy for Clinton, immediately after he announced the idea that America would be strong outside when it becomes strong inside. After announcing this thesis he claimed during his election campaign that he would sharply reduce the defense budget. The Strategic Defense Initiative has been practically divided into four parts and has been reduced. It looks as if it would be more difficult for Clinton to take additional steps and initiatives on arms reduction. That is why I suspect the government took advantage of the opportunity to sign the treaty with the person who participated in the talks."

Andrey Kokoshin then explains some technicalities of the treaty. He says:

"First, it is still a long time—10 years—before the agreements will be implemented, providing they are ratified by the Supreme Soviet. It will take 10 years to implement these agreements. Therefore, the grouping we will have as a result of the natural course of events, as well as the implementation of these agreements, will be approximately the same. The majority of missiles which are to be liquidated within the framework of the new treaty are those which will be removed from operational status since they will have finished their serviceable life. There are some discrepancies in the time schedule—not everything fully fits the deadline of 2003, but overall this is approximately the period during which the systems are to be written off."

"Everything will be done in stages. First we should implement the treaty on the reduction of strategic offensive arms, signed last year and recently ratified by the Supreme Soviet. Then, overlapping with the obligations on this treaty, the implementation of the second treaty will start."

Andranik Migranyan mentions a controversial reaction in the media. One of the arguments is that this treaty gives an advantage to the United States, while Russia has lost its most effective weapons. Commenting on this, Kokoshin says:

"You know, for us the land-based component of the strategic triad will still be very important. We are far from moving it to the end in the system of our priorities. It is a different matter that it will have a new appearance, and far from all our weapons of the land-based strategic component of the nuclear triad will be mobile. It will be a certain optimal combination of mobile and stationary options which will give maximum combat stability to this component of the strategic nuclear triad. Besides, it must not be forgotten that over the years our naval component has not been idle. We have created submarine-launched ballistic missiles capable of reaching a potential aggressor anywhere the globe from the waters near to our own coasts. That has a substantial influence on the combat stability and the grouping of these forces, in our priorities of the military-technical policy, and on the whole in the priorities of the military doctrine. Incidentally, we have finalized the purely military part of our doctrine, and many people make the mistake of claiming that we do not have one. One should read more carefully what is published and what is said by the president, our supreme commander, and what has been said in the Supreme Soviet's statements and in speeches by the defense minister. We attach great importance to the combat stability of the groupings of our naval strategic nuclear forces, and, taking into account the weapons capable of reaching most distant places from our own waters, we have great possibilities, so much so that this component should indeed be unassailable and one of our most important weapons of deterrence. Therefore I would not speak so slightingly of our naval component."

Lyubimov interrupts Kokoshin, saying that the U.S. media is rejoicing that there are only 1,628 submarine-based missiles left. Kokoshin says that we will have approximately the same number on our submarines. Migranyan says that it looks as if the balance of our nuclear forces has changed: in the past land-based heavy missiles dominated in the nuclear triad.

Kokoshin replies: "You know, our land-based heavy missiles—what is called the SS-18 but what we call the 36 [as heard]—have undergone several modifications. They are indeed a very menacing and powerful weapon, in which a lot of money has been invested. These weapons were mainly manufactured in Ukraine. At present we have practically completely lost this cooperation, and by the deadline outlined in this treaty we will practically almost completely exhaust the useful life of these missiles, which are on combat duty. The question arises either to continue their production in Ukraine, which

would be an obvious violation of Ukraine's nuclear-free status, or to develop the manufacture of these missiles on our territory, and that will cost a colossal amount of money."

Migranyan says some concern has been expressed by the opponents of the treaty: While the Americans continue research in the sphere of the Strategic Defense Initiative, Russia would only have single-warhead missiles.

Kokoshin explains: "You know, this issue has been seriously discussed over the last 12-15 years at a minimum. The USSR Defense Ministry, the Russian Defense Ministry, as well as the industry have appropriate research and development programs which are intended to neutralize any potential breakthrough in this sphere. We are not going to close these programs completely, though Aleksandr Aleksandrovich [Piskunov] has said that the Strategic Defense Initiative has undergone considerable changes in the United States. But there is always a possibility of counting this threat, as they say, of leveling the strategic potential of nuclear deterrence among the most varied weapons. Here I can mention at least one technical parameter. Heavy missiles have a very long booster stage, which makes them most vulnerable to anti-missile weapons, namely in the booster stage. The booster stage of the missiles which we have in mind is much shorter..."

Lyubimov interrupts Kokoshin, saying: "Don't spill all the beans!"

Ambassador Kryzhanovskiy says that Ukraine supports and welcomes the START II Treaty. Asked when Ukraine will ratify its nuclear-free status, he replies: "It will happen in the very near future. The president said it should be done in January. I cannot refute what the president says, but I think it will be in February."

With regard to the danger attached to the fact that Ukraine could announce itself as a nuclear power, the ambassador says: "I do not think realistic Ukrainian politicians plan such a thing." Lyubimov provokes Kryzhanovskiy, saying that Ukraine wants the world to pay it as much as possible for its nuclear-free status—a kind of blackmailing—and hence is delaying ratifying the START I Treaty. Kryzhanovskiy replies:

"There is no blackmail of any kind. All we say is: It costs money. You know the Ukrainians are assiduous and economical people. They say that it costs money. We do not want a single kopeck of this money for other purposes. We say: Let us meet and decide how much it costs. Because our economic situation is so complicated, if the world community wants to receive the benefit of a nuclear-free Ukraine, it should help us in this matter and nothing more." He adds: "We ask Russia: Let us sit down at a negotiating table and reach an agreement. We have been asking for this for a long time—lately very insistently."

Migranyan asks whether Ukraine has any fears that after losing its status of the third largest nuclear power in the world it would lose its prestige. Kryzhanovskiy retorts: "We want to use a different trump card, and we are trying to use this trump card, but for some reason no one understands why we are doing this. We want to use the trump card of a nuclear-free state. Practically for the first time in the world's history we are giving up nuclear weapons. We want to use this trump card so that the civilized world can see that this is the country giving up such a thing." He adds: "We want to have guarantees from two sides—from the Western world and from Russia—that the change of our status—at present we have a lot of weapons. We are the third largest state in the world, and in seven years we will find ourselves without nuclear weapons, therefore we want to insure that our changed status will not affect our security in any way."

A. Lyubimov draws attention to the fact that while Ukraine wants to be a nuclear-free state it does not have the money to liquidate the nuclear weapons deployed on its territory. Migranyan says: "America offers $175 million, while Ukraine says it needs at least $1.5 billion."

Commenting on this, Kokoshin says: "You know, as a matter of fact it can be resolved much easier. There are finalized proposals regarding the technical and organizational procedures. Provided Ukraine demonstrates goodwill we will be able to help it implement its nuclear-free status rather quickly."

Lyubimov asks: "Is the Russian Government prepared to share with Ukraine the financial means it will receive to dismantle nuclear missiles?"

Kokoshin replies: "This issue should be decided by the Russian Government and I cannot speak on behalf of the Russian Government here. However, I think that if we manage to sell uranium and plutonium from the proccessed weapons on world markets, it seems to me Ukraine should receive some share."

Asked whether it would be possible for the United States to increase its financial aid in this sphere, Piskunov says: "I was present at the final stage of the talks in Geneva and Eagleburger, the head of the U.S. delegation, stressed more than once that the United States is prepared to provide serious financial aid in implementing this treaty, but on the condition that these means should not be used to develop new types of missile weapons. The U.S. insisted that SS-25 missiles and not new and more up-to-date missiles should be deployed in all the silos, which in the process of the talks we managed to defend and to preserve, including the silos for heavy missiles; the Americans referred to their apprehensions that we would use the allocated assignations for armament and not disarmament."

Asked whether the treaty would be ratified by the Supreme Soviet, Piskunov says: "Some experience of participating in the preparation of the START I Treaty with regard to ratification shows that the ratification will be a lengthy and complicated process, because suspicions and inertia of thinking, based on the security of mutual

threats, are strong. Therefore, unless we explain to parliamentarians and the government, and the Defense Ministry convinces us that nuclear deterrence will be effectively guaranteed by the nuclear potential after 2003, and that we will preserve the possibility of conducting an independent military-technical policy..."

Lyubimov interrupts, saying that it would not be easy to convince the MPs to disarm, since mankind has been accumulating weapons for decades. Piskunov says: "Without doubt, I am in favor of ratification."

Migranyan asks what will become of the military-industrial complex as a result of these reductions.

Kokoshin says: "You know, the military-industrial complex is going through a very difficult period at present, and in 1992 the reduction in military orders amounted to approximately 67-68 percent compared to 1991. History perhaps has never seen such deep reductions."

Lyubimov mentions that America is going through a similar period. Kokoshin says that in America "the scale of reduction is very different—two to three percent a year—and nobody has such deep reductions as we have. But this does not affect strategic forces. In general, in the system of our priorities, in the military-technical policy, and on the whole in the composition of the armed forces, we have tried to maintain, even at the expense of the meagre means we have been allocated, the missile attack warning system, space monitoring, and strategic nuclear forces at an appropriate level. Money has been allocated which makes it possible for them to be maintained at an appropriate level of combat readiness, thereby guaranteeing nuclear deterrence against any aggression—I mean major large-scale aggressions, since unfortunately nuclear deterrence does not guarantee protection against conflicts of small intensity.

"Therefore, at present the reductions envisaged in the framework of the new treaty have been envisaged by our leaders in the military-industrial complex. These people are sensible and well educated. They realize that we have entered a completely new stage in our development. We cannot maintain allocations, even on strategic forces, at the level we did during the 1980s. Therefore the leading people in this direction are psychologically prepared to make new decisions, but optimal decisions."

Consultative Commission on Disarmament Meets in Minsk

OW1201150693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1448 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A joint consultative commission on disarmament opened session at the CIS headquarters in Minsk. It includes experts from all CIS states. The adviser of a CIS working group, Georgy Tarnavsky, reported to an INTERFAX correspondent that the meeting was initiated by Russia's Foreign Ministry. At the session, which will last two days, experts plan to discuss the results of the first round of the CSCE talks on cooperation in the field of security, and exchange views on preparation for the second round of these negotiations to be held in Vienna on January 18.

It is expected that the commission will also consider the status of that organization. Commenting for INTERFAX on the position of Ukraine over the issue, the Ukrainian foreign ministry official, Vladimir Belashov, said that it was unreasonable to give any form to the activity of the disarmament commission, since it was exclusively a consultative body. Mr. Belashov spoke out against strict regulation of its work.

Russian Ministry Envoy Comments

LD1201134893 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 12 Jan 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] A session of the commission on disarmament in the CIS has opened in Minsk. Meetings are being held within the CIS working group between experts and plenipotentiary representatives of the CIS countries. Some of the experts took part in drawing up the START II Treaty signed on 3 January in Moscow by the U.S. and Russian presidents. Others took part in preparing accords on European security. Now that each of the CIS states has announced the formation of its own national armies, security and disarmament issues are of particular importance, noted the chairman of the consultative meeting Konstantin Fedorovich Mikhaylov, formerly a professional military man and now special envoy of the Russian Foreign Ministry.

[Begin Mikhaylov recording] There are certain difficulties. These are determined, so to speak, by the situations which have emerged following both the setting up of armed forces in the republics and the establishment of relations within the framework of these armed forces and other state structures. I think, however, that the task of the commission is to make sure that agreements are fully implemented. [end recording]

Shaposhnikov on Problems in CIS Defense Setup

LD1201204693 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1615 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Interview with Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander of CIS Joint Armed Forces, by correspondent Yelena Ozrina in the Tavricheskiy Palace in St. Petersburg, on the work of the Inter-Parliamentary Assembly; from the "Assembly at the Tavricheskiy" program—recorded]

[Text] [Ozrina] The Inter-Parliamentary Assembly session met with understanding the questions which Marshal Shaposhnikov, commander of the CIS Joint Armed Forces, raised in his report. He considers that although the decisions of the session are recommendatory, this nevertheless is the best hope that they will find language of mutual understanding and not mutual confrontation. How do you assess your speech and the results of the work of the Inter-Parliamentary Assembly in this regard?

[Shaposhnikov] You know, my speech to the Inter-Parliamentary Assembly is very much like the cry from the heart about which you have spoken because wherever I speak and ask these questions—I am constantly present at and participating in meetings of the Council of Heads of State of the CIS, the CIS Council of Heads of Government, the CIS Council of Defense Ministers of which I am chairman, and I have frequently attended meetings of foreign ministers—and everywhere, everyone says: Yes, we need united armed forces, we need a common defense space, etc.

When we get down to business, particularly in the past six months, of the formation of, say, a ministry of defense of the independent states, instead of such concepts in all the documents such as: the main command organizes, the main command is in charge of—these are interspersed and diluted with expressions such as: the main command harmonizes, the main command coordinates, the main command reviews, proposes, and so on. That is, the ministries of defense give the impression that in their hearts they do not wish this to come about. Not all of them, of course, there are some that are otherwise inclined, but on the whole the situation arises—there is even uncertainty among the presidents—they created this CIS in order, as it were, not to cooperate on a new basis, a qualitatively new basis, but in order to be in such an amorphous situation and at a suitable time to leave it. It seems that it exists but at the same time it does not exist.

Of course, I am opposed to the harsh forms which existed in the past when we were tied with barbed wire and hammered together with Stalinist nails and wrapped in a wonderful hypocritical packaging which alleged that each nation had the right to self-determination up to and including secession. But just try to secede in those conditions! But now that we have received self-determination, it is necessary to construct a modern defense on the principles of self-determination of integration, because no single state of the CIS at the present time is capable of building a modern effective defense without these bases of cooperation which the CIS Joint Armed forces and other structures are engaged in. Even if we continue for several years to manage on the old baggage, so to speak, in the future a very sorry picture awaits us in the defense complex.

[Ozrina] Yevgeniy Ivanovich, what do you think is the reason for this internal unwillingness? Is it because of a shortage of money and unwillingness to provide financing, or the absence of legislative acts, which was spoken about by the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Kazakhstan, or simply the desire to be independent on all questions?

[Shaposhnikov] You know, there is probably a whole range of reasons for this, a conglomeration rather than one or the other. With regard to money, defense is more effective and less expensive when everyone pulls together, that is the first thing.

[Ozrina] This is evident to everyone.

[Shaposhnikov] It is evident and comprehensible to everyone because I have already cited the example of building a modern Su-27 aircraft in which up to 700 enterprises are involved and they are located on the territory of various states of the CIS. If we do not have the mechanisms, then it is unclear whether we will have this aircraft or not; and secondly, the working class loses its work and so on and so on. Further, our states have not yet gotten over the infantile disorder of naked sovereignization. They are still going through the stage of formation and perhaps are intoxicated with it and enjoying it, but in the final analysis we all lose from this enjoyment. Just look at Europe. They are becoming integrated; they do not even recognize borders now. They have a single currency—the European Currency Unit. They have transparent borders, but we are still thinking about things.

However, the worst thing in the first place is that the defense complex is collapsing and in effect—and I say this with all responsibility—we will be able to be taken with bare hands in a few years if things go on like this. The second thing is that as states we will become has-beens, and this should worry all normal people in our CIS states. The third thing, which is no less dangerous, is nationalism. I think that if we continue to split up as we are doing, no one in future generations will forgive us, the contemporary generation, for spreading these bacilla of nationalism. Naturally, we cannot remain long in this state. It is necessary to define—as a military man I need clarity—whether we split up or whether we cooperate. I think that the second alternative entails fewer losses.

Many states conduct themselves so amorphously and say yes, yes, yes, but when you get down to specifics they say we will harmonize, clarify and so on. Therefore, I am here at the Inter-Parliamentary Assembly; it is the supreme legislative organ of our CIS, and I also am sorry that there are only six participants here. I think that it is

necessary, of course, to coordinate all legislative acts on defense questions, on the social and legal protection of our servicemen.

CIS Development Trends Viewed After One Year

PM1201152593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 10 Jan 93 p 2

[Pavel Shinkarenko article under the "Commonwealth" rubric: "Marriages and Divorces—These Are the Two Trends Characterizing the Situation in the CIS One Year After Belovezhskaya Forest and the Alma-Ata Declaration"]

[Text] The postponement of the session of the Council of Heads of States in Minsk from 4 December to 25 December and then to the New Year (the meeting has been fixed for 22 January) has evoked quite a few bewildered questions. Is this the expression of a desire to be better prepared for a crucial discussion, to await the final figures for 1992, or a hint that fresh discussions are pointless? Meanwhile, two events—the signing of the Russo-U.S. START II Treaty and the related debate on the fate of the former USSR's nuclear weapons—as well as the meeting of the leaders of the five sovereign countries of Central Asia have raised the question bluntly: Will the fate of the CIS be resolved in Minsk?

The CDS Instead of the CIS?

Would it not be better to replace the abbreviation CIS—the Commonwealth of Independent States—with the abbreviation the CDS—the Commonwealth of Dependent States. This question, posed by the well known economist Yevgeniy Yasin, concisely expresses the situation which has developed in relations between the sovereign countries which emerged after the disintegration of the USSR. In trying to escape from the political tutelage of the Kremlin and the all-powerful State Planning Committee, which was one reason for the collapse of the "indestructible" Union, and after the unsuccessful attempts to find a wealthy foreign patron, the former "brothers" have again focused their attention on one another.

The past year has shown that neither UN membership nor entry into other international and regional alliances has made anyone any richer. According to the calculations of EEC experts (people with a fondness for accurate figures) average national income in all the CIS countries fell by almost 19 percent and in Armenia, Moldova, and Tajikistan, which are experiencing the consequences of armed conflicts, the slump has assumed far greater proportions. The new year bodes nothing good. A further rise in unemployment is predicted—to 12 million by mid-1993. Incomes are lagging behind the rate of inflation with the result that actual wages have fallen 30-50 percent. The worsening of the material position has caused disillusionment among broad strata of the population, which is considerably complicating the task of the economic policymakers.

The enthusiasm which accompanied the "divorce" proceedings and the proclamation of the independence of the former Union republics has in a number of cases given way to disillusion and a lack of confidence.

It goes without saying that these facts are well known to the leaders of the CIS countries. That is why, as the EEC experts note, those CIS leaders must resolve two interconnected tasks for themselves as they prepare for the new Minsk summit: First, they must establish "clear and consistent policy aims" particularly with regard to finance; And second, they must urgently define the tasks of market transformations. Until the "vacillation and uncertainty" are overcome confidence in the reforms cannot be strengthened either among entrepreneurs or in society as a whole.

Ukraine Is Beginning and...

The discussion on the fate of the CIS today is closely linked to the discussion on the CIS Charter. How various people regard this project can be judged from whether they see in this international formation merely a "divorce agency" or an instrument for uniting the sovereign states. The summit meetings in Bishkek, Moscow, and Tashkent, like the actions on the eve of the summit in Minsk, showed that in the group of 11 countries which signed the Alma-Ata declaration on the formation of the CIS there are six states which are ready to go further along the road of forming a political, economic, and military union on a confederative basis. The others agreed to cooperate as associate members or observers. In our view, this confused question should be clarified by Boris Yeltsin's meeting with Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk scheduled for 15 January and the talks between government delegations from Russia and Kazakhstan headed by premiers Viktor Chernomyrdin and Sergey Tereshchenko in Omsk recently. As is well known, Alma-Ata consistently advocates the strengthening of multilateral ties among the former union republics whereas Kiev supports the consolidation of bilateral contacts.

"The CIS Charter that is offered for signing," Leonid Kravchuk said, "does not coincide with Ukraine's potential and its legislative norms, nor with Ukraine's interests."

Otherwise the Ukrainian leader explained that his "line" is not aimed at the republic's exit from the CIS. "I supported, support, and will support the CIS," he stressed. "The only thing that I am opposed to is to give it the status of the Soviet Union by the back door." This means that at the forthcoming meeting in Minsk, Ukraine is not going to examine the prospects for its participation in the CIS as an associate member or an observer. The republic may examine not the proposed CIS Charter but the whole package of documents with addenda and clarifications. "However, it may take decades to elaborate such documents," Leonid Makarovich believes.

The catalyst of this process could be the discussion of the fate of nuclear weapons located on Ukraine's territory. When declaring the republic's sovereignty in the past, Kiev's leaders advocated the nonnuclear status of Ukraine and expressed the readiness to sign the nuclear nonproliferation treaty as a nonnuclear power. To achieve that Ukraine will have to remove from its territory 130 missile complexes and the corresponding nuclear•charges. According to the specialists, that will cost around $1.5 billion. That money does not exist today. Nevertheless, the problem must be resolved because it will cost just as much to keep the weapons [boyezaryad] of awesome destructive force in a safe condition.

Kiev believes that in addition to economic questions the theme of military cooperation and, in particular, the solution of the fate of the Black Sea Fleet and the strategic forces will be the main ones at the talks between the Russian and Ukrainian presidents. There is no doubt that an answer to these questions will help the partners make up their minds about the CIS.

"We Were Swimming Toward Dry Land..."

The meeting of the leaders of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan in Tashkent at the beginning of January was a remarkable milestone on the road to Minsk. The main result was that the leaders of the countries of Central Asia [Tsentralnaya Aziya] (as the region where these republics are located will now be known) took the "corresponding steps" toward forming a common market with a single tax, customs, price, investment, and export policy. As is well known, Kazakhstan leader Nursultan Nazarbayev has indicated this direction more than once to his colleagues in the CIS Heads of State Council when campaigning for the confederative path of development of the CIS. Now this idea, it seems, is beginning to be embodied, albeit at regional level.

"Nevertheless," Nursultan Nazarbayev stated, "we are unanimous in not wanting to limit ourselves to a regional framework. We want to develop cooperation, first and foremost with Russia..."

The Kazakhstan president went on to state that the five republics favor the preservation of the ruble zone but on the principles of equal rights. He emphasized the need for a banking union in which monetary policy and emissions would be managed by all on the principle of "one state, one vote." This—which, in his opinion, is something that the other participants in the Tashkent meeting share—is what guarantees the durability of the ruble zone.

Does this mean that all the participants in the Tashkent summit are ready to rebuild the "ship of the Union"? Hardly.

"After the disintegration of the Union," Turkmenistan president Saparmurad Niyazov told journalists, "we were thrown overboard in a raging ocean. It took a tremendous effort of will on the part of the people but we have managed to find ourselves a life preserver. We were slowly but confidently swimming toward dry land... Then suddenly from the raging ocean came the cry: 'Go back! Rebuild the ship.' You will agree that this is not a constructive venture."

"Does this mean that the CIS has no future?"

"On the contrary," Saparmurad Atayevich objected, "the CIS mechanism can work on consultative principles. The model of contact between the states must not be made more complicated. You will recall that a straight line is the shortest distance between two points..."

Agenda for Council of Defense Ministers Session

OW1201151093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1448 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Council of CIS Defence Ministers will meet in Minsk January 3 [as received]. INTERFAX was informed by the Supreme Command of the Combined CIS Armed Forces that issues to be included on the agenda for the summit of Commonwealth heads of state and government in Minsk January 22 would be discussed.

In addition, the defence ministers will discuss issues for the future consideration of the Inter-Parliamentary Assembly of CIS Nations. These include: draft documents on amendments to the strategic forces agreement; and the implementation of agreements reached previously within the CIS framework on defence issues. Draft agreements on extra social and legal guarantees for military observers and members of CIS peace keeping forces will also be discussed together with the use of military satellite communications and other matters.

The CIS Nuclear Policy Committee will hold a meeting in parallel with the above mentioned meeting on January 21, also in Minsk. The meeting will be attended by defence ministers from Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus and Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, the Chief in Command of the Combined CIS Armed Forces.

Working Group Head Views Drafting of CIS Charter

LD1201211593 Moscow Russian Televison Network in Russian 1615 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Interview with Ivan Mikhaylovich Korotchenya, coordinator of working group of CIS Council of Heads of State and Council of Heads of Government, by Yelena Ozrina, in the Tavricheskiy Palace in St. Petersburg, on the work of the Inter-Parliamentary Assembly session; from the "Assembly in Tavricheskiy" program—recorded]

[Text] [Ozrina] Ivan Mikhaylovich, you are coordinating the working group of the CIS councils of heads of state and heads of government. So why are you here, at the Inter-Parliamentary Assembly? What do you expect to learn here, and to what extent do you reckon to coordinate the work of the Assembly and that of the CIS?

[Korotchenya] Well, I could come here not only as coordinator of the working group of the councils of heads of state and heads of government but also simply as deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Belarus. As regards my presence, I am here with my colleagues from the working group. It was Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov's idea to invite us.

The purpose of our visit is as follows: The draft CIS charter drawn up by experts and ourselves is to be examined and appraised at the Inter-Parliamentary Assembly, to a degree. Luckily, we intended to complete the draft charter before the meeting of heads of state which was to have taken place in Minsk on 25 December. As it was postponed, we had the chance to attend the Inter-Parliamentary Assembly and submit to it the draft charter. I believe that this will be timely, and the remarks and proposals to be made here may become the basis of the remarks to be made in localities, from the states. The draft charter will be submitted for examination at the level of heads of state and heads of government at the next meeting to take place, hopefully, in mid-January.

[Ozrina] What is the current state of readiness of the charter of the council of CIS countries, and to what degree will it take into account the Inter-Parliamentary Assembly?

[Korotchenya] Well, first, the charter has been authorized [zavizirovan] at the level of commonwealth deputy ministers of foreign affairs and deputy ministers of justice. Incidentally, ministers of foreign affairs tackled it from various sides and took active part in it. Suffice it to recall that at the last meeting of heads of government in Moscow, the heads of government made relevant remarks and amendments regarding the draft charter which was prepared at the time. We took those remarks into account.

Volskiy Stresses Improving CIS Economic Links

LD1201183393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1255 GMT 12 Jan 93

[by ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Kuleshov]

[Text] Paris, 12 January— Agreement to step up economic links between the CIS republics is essential at the forthcoming meeting of the heads of state and government leaders of the CIS countries. This is the view of Arkadiy Volskiy, president of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs.

In an interview carried today by L'ECHO, he expressed the view that priority should be given to the development of two sectors: the agro-industrial and pharmaceutical sectors. According to Volskiy, the processing industry for agricultural produce, the storage system, and transport are in such a lamentable condition that only 50 percent of the harvest reaches the shops. At the same time $5 billion worth of grain and $2 billion worth of other foodstuffs are procured abroad. If only half of this $7 billion was directed into developing the infrastructure, it would be possible to take a considerable step forward. The leading role here should belong to the state.

As for medicine, A. Volskiy conmtinued, one can scarcely be content with the fact that Russia has available only 60 percent of the pharmaceutical items it needs. The situation that has come about is, in his opinion, creating a far greater danger to democracy than the issue of a referendum on the constitution, in which many citizens will refuse to take part, he surmises, because they have lost interest in politics.

On the implementation of the course of reforms, A. Volskiy said that price liberalization is not a panacea. It should be the final stage of reform, whereas we are still in the initial phase. The Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs believes that the main thing is to create genuine market economy structures and the conditions for authentic competition.

Committee Sums Up Economic Development in 1992

LD1201214093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Text] As reported by the DAILY NEWS [YEZHEDNEVNYYE NOVOSTI] agency, the State Committee for Cooperation has summed up results of economic development in CIS states for the last year.

According to data from that department, the volume of industrial production in Commonwealth countries dropped 18-20 percent in comparison with 1991, while the gross national income declined by 20 percent. Real monetary incomes of the population decreased two-fold. While prices rose 14-fold, wages increased approximately seven-fold. Trade turnover between CIS member states decreased significantly.

Candidates Named for Black Sea Fleet Command

PM1301092793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Jan 93 p 2

[Report by Vladimir Pasyakin in the "From Our News Bureau" column: "Black Sea Fleet Commander Not Yet Appointed, but Nominees Now Known"]

[Text] Sevastopol—With the departure of Admiral Igor Kasatonov as commander of the Black Sea Fleet, the post remains vacant. The list of candidates contains four names.

These are Vice Admiral Vitaliy Larionov, first deputy commander of the Black Sea Fleet; Vice Admiral Vladimir Kalabin, first deputy commander of the Pacific Fleet; Vice Admiral Anatoliy Oleynik, first deputy chief of the Navy Academy; and Vice Admiral Eduard Baltin, chief of the Navy Department of the Russian Armed Forces General Staff Academy.

It is expected that the final choice will be made at the upcoming meeting of the presidents of Russia and Ukraine.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 13 Jan

LD1301091493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0831 GMT 13 Jan 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow January 13 ITAR-TASS—The newspaper TRUD carries today an article by its analyst Nikolay Kishkin devoted to the Commonwealth summit scheduled for January 22 in Minsk. "The Commonwealth is not dead, but neither does it live" the analyst says in commenting on the results of the Commonwealth's first year of existence.

Along with this, the analyst says that the recent "conference in Tashkent of the heads of state and government of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Tajikistan has added new colors to the forthcoming meeting in Minsk. The republics of Central Asia made it clear to their colleagues: Let us either make the Commonwealth effective or let everyone count only on one self. This would likely stimulate other members of the Commonwealth to make more definite decisions. [no closing quotation marks as received]

The LITERATURNAYA GAZETA carries an extensive interview with the former acting prime minister of Russia Yegor Gaydar about the situation in country and the possible solution of the most pressing problems in the economy. According to Gaydar, "without any doubt, it is necessary to begin with curbing the prices. Because any talks about a rise in production are absolutely groundless without financial stabilization."

The newspaper PRAVDA comments on the results of Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs Andrey Kozyrev's visit to Norway. The main result, according to the newspaper, is that "Russia will take part in the work of yet another regional alliance, this time in the Nordic region. On the Norwegian initiative, the Barents Sea Council has been set up with the participation of representatives of Finland, Sweden, Russia, Denmark, Iceland, and the European Communities."

TRUD and PRAVDA pay much attention to the new aggravation of the situation in the Gulf caused by Iraq's recent incursions in Kuwait to seize military equipment. Both newspapers describe the situation as a crisis and do not rule out a new armed conflict in the region.

IZVESTIYA Views Latest U.S.-Iraq Standoff

PM1101154793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jan 93 Morning Edition p 3

[Georgiy Stepanov report: "Saddam Husayn Backs Down Over Western Ultimatum"]

[Text] The White House has stated that Iraq has withdrawn its antiaircraft missiles from the zone south of the 32d parallel, thus yielding to the demands of the United States and its allies.

It is well known that the United States, Britain, and France, with Russian backing, presented Iraq with an ultimatum 6 January: Within 48 hours all missile complexes must be withdrawn from the zone within which its air force is forbidden to fly. The allies threatened Baghdad with military measures which, in the assessment of observers, would in any case simply be limited to an attack on the missile positions using "smart" bombs.

Baghdad's reaction was discouraging for the West: The country's parliament rejected the ultimatum and Saddam Husayn declared that Iraq is ready to inflict a counterstrike if hostilities are initiated against it. The Americans then put the aircraft carrier Kitty Hawk, which is plying the Persian Gulf, onto heightened combat alert. Their aircraft flew more than 60 missions over the "no-fly zone" in order to gather intelligence information. It seemed that a new clash in the region was inevitable.

When the ultimatum deadline expired, U.S. spy satellites had registered the successful withdrawal of the missiles from the "no-fly zone." "Husayn beat a hasty retreat," a ranking U.S. military man said. "The U.S. Administration has declared itself the winner in this confrontation with Husayn, which will probably be Bush's last," ABC-TV's evening newscaster S. Donaldson noted.

Neutral commentators, however, are not inclined to share the Americans' euphoria. In their opinion, nearly all the crises in the Persian Gulf region follow the same model: Baghdad provokes an incident, throws down a challenge to the great powers, and retreats at the last moment. The motives for such actions are entirely understandable: Saddam Husayn is mobilizing his people, distracting them from domestic problems, and testing the combat capability of the West; but once the affair is over he deftly turns retreat into a political victory.

In the most recent case, Iraq had an excellent pretext. After all, the establishment of the no-fly zone in the south of Iraq last August was an initiative taken by the United States, Britain, and France, not the United Nations. No special UN Security Council resolution on this matter was ever approved. Last April the UN Security Council adopted a resolution condemning the Baghdad regime's repression of the Kurds and Shiites. This was basically the pretext used by the allies when they embarked on Operation "Southern Watch" in August. Iraqi diplomacy acquired juridical arguments with which it is now finding supporters in UN circles, as well as in Saudi Arabia and Egypt.

Once the war in the Persian Gulf region was over, the West, and specifically the United States, was unable to determine a strategy for getting out of the Iraqi crisis. The burden of relations with Saddam Husayn is being transferred onto Bill Clinton's shoulders. He, however, does not intend to walk away from the problem. "Iraq is making a big mistake if it thinks that because George Bush has one week left in power, neither he nor I will take measures which we believe to be the correct ones in the given situation," he told journalists.

Intelligence Service Delegation in Washington

LD1301092593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0831 GMT 13 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Loshchilin]

[Text] Washington January 13 TASS—A delegation of senior officials of the Russian Intelligence Service arrived in the U.S. capital. It is being led by Lieutenant General Vadim Kirpichenko, head of the group of consultants at the office of the director of the Russian Intelligence Service. The delegation is visiting the United States at the invitation of the Washington Centre for Democracy, on whose initiative the international conference on the role of Intelligence services in conditions of democracy was held in Sofia in April 1992.

This is the first ever official visit of high-ranking officials of the Russian Intelligence Service to the United States. On Tuesday the delegation met at the Capitol Hill representative members of the Special House Committee on Intelligence, visited the headquarters of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Kennan Russian Research Institute. The programme of the ten-day visit includes talks of Russian and American intelligence workers, as well as meetings with scientists and veterans of the U.S. Secret Services.

General Kirpichenko told journalists in Washington that a number of "active measures" used by the KGB, such as the financing of subversive organisations and Communist parties in other countries, misinformation and blackmail, are unacceptable for the Russian Intelligence Service. "We prefer gentleman-like methods of work," he said. Kirpichenko did not deny the fact that the United States continues to be within the sphere of activities of the Russian Intelligence Service, but pointed out that "Russian Intelligence Service are not doing in the U.S. what the U.S. services are doing in Russia."

U.S. Stance on Russian Arms Sales to China Condemned

LD1201151593 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0510 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Viktor Levin Commentary]

[Text] The U.S. NEW YORK TIMES newspaper has published an article entitled: China's Military Muscle-Building Makes Neighbors Nervous. China's longest land border—over 4,000 kilometers—is with Russia; approximately another 3,000 kilometers runs along the contiguous territories of Kazakhstan, Kygyzstan, and Tajikistan. However, when the U.S. newspaper talks about the PRC's neighbors, (?what it has in mind is something quite different). So different that even the truth about the growing concern of many Asian countries appears no more than a rhetorical ploy.

The reason, in my view, is the following phrase: According to a number of military experts, the modern military equipment which China acquires from Russia and other countries could wreck the balance of forces in Asia by the end of the decade. I would venture to suggest that the number of military experts—their nationality is not mentioned—to whose opinion the author of the article refers, are either from the Pentagon or are close to the U.S. military-industrial complex. Their concern has been aroused not by the fact that China is building up its military muscles—to use the phraseology in the article—but by the fact that Russia is selling arms.

Well-informed military experts cannot but be aware that Russia sells only defensive types of weapons to China. I recall that during Russian President Boris Yeltsin's recent visit to Beijing, journalists heaped questions upon Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin, who was a member of the delegation, in an attempt to get the most authoritative information on precisely which weapons Russia plans to sell to China. Shokhin made no attempt to avoid answering, but explained in detail what and how. The phrase was clearly enunciated several times: We will supply only defensive weapons. The deputy prime minister even cited an example. If, for instance, China should want to purchase the anti-air defense class of surface-to-air missiles, Russia will say yes. But if it is a matter of air-to-ground missiles, the answer would be a categorical no.

Accordingly, it is not that the military threat is growing from China, as the U.S. newspaper thinks, but that the United States is just not comfortable with the fact that Russia is selling weapons at all. I would not bother to draw your attention to this latest NEW YORK TIMES article if it were the only one, but it is not. The United States is persistently taking a line both in the press and at state level toward preventing Russian weaponry from appearing on world markets; or to put it more simply, of squeezing a serious competitor. I will say quite frankly that I am against the arms trade. However, until the relevant international bans exist, it would be politically naive and economically disadvantageous for Russia unilaterally to quit the world arms trade market. For it is not stopping the world arms trade that the U.S. is concerned about, but rather increasing its own share. And in this case its position appears not only egoistic but short-sighted, too. Serious-minded people across the pond cannot but be aware that for Russia today disruption of weapons exports would mean an acute exacerbation of economic difficulties, most likely leading to extremely tragic consequences. Democratic Russia is playing an honest game in the world arena, and has the right to demand the same thing from its partners.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Holds 12 Jan News Briefing

Condemns Iraqi Incursion of Demilitarized Zone

LD1201125993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1141 GMT 12 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Sergey Postanogov and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow, 12 Jan (ITAR-TASS)—Sergey Yastrzhembskiy, director of the Russian Foreign Ministry's Information and Press Department, at a briefing today described the raid mounted by the Iraqis on the demilitarized zone as a barefaced breach of UN Security Council resolutions and the subsequent accords. He said that on 10 January 1993 several hundred Iraqis, including armed servicemen, penetrated the zone controlled by international observers and seized military materiel and equipment.

The Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman said that "in Russia one would hope that in the Iraqi leadership a realistic understanding of the situation that has taken shape will prevail and Baghdad will take the road of conscientious fulfillment of the just demands of the international community, which is primarily in the interests of Iraq itself and of its people."

Views Violence in Bosnia, Geneva Talks

LD1201152493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1503 GMT 11 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sergey Postanogov and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—Russia condemns most strongly acts of violence and terrorism in former Yugoslavia, including the seizure by Muslim forces in Bosnia-Hercegovina of several Serbian villages in the run-up to Orthodox Christmas, an act which caused loss of human life, a senior Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman said today. The fact that the underlying reason of the crime was clearly religious and is threatened to aggravate the situation is a matter of particular concern.

Russia sees its task in extending maximum assistance to the activity of the co-chairmen of the Geneva conference, said Sergey Yastrzhembskiy, head of the Russian Foreign Ministry Information and Press Department. In his view, a breakthrough in solving this problem can and should be made at least partially exactly now within the frameworks of the second round of direct consultations between the parties involved in the conflict.

What is happening in Geneva gives grounds for "feeble optimism in reaching partial understanding on some issues." As for Russia, it abides by statements by its leaders on intensifying activity towards settling the crisis in former Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav subject is "top priority" for Russian diplomacy.

According to Yastrzhembskiy, the last weeks of December were packed with numerous contacts along the line of the foreign policy establishments with all parties concerned and international organisations. Such contacts are maintained virtually daily, he said.

Yastrzhembskiy confirmed information that Croatia violates the ban on military aircraft flights. Moscow receives reports about this from servicemen of the U.N. forces who recorded the most frequent violations exactly on the part of Croatia in recent days.

On the fact of recognising Macedonia by Moscow, Yastrzhembskiy stressed that all known problems should be settled before it joins the United Nations Organisation. In principle, there are no international-legal hurdles to Macedonia's entry into the U.N. although Russia is not pressing for speeding up this process, he said.

Says Mongolian Leader To Visit

OW1201155293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1522 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Report by diplomatic correspondents Andrey Borodin, Dimitry Voskoboynikov, Igor Porshnev, and others; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature—item transmitted via KYODO]

[Excerpts] President Ochirbat of Mongolia is to come to Moscow for an official visit on January 19-21 at the invitation of President Boris Yeltsin, the director of the press and information department of Russia's Foreign Ministry, Sergey Yastrzhembskiy, said at Tuesday's briefing. This will be the first visit of "this scale" in the history of relations between Russia and Mongolia, he said. [passage omitted] Yastrzhembskiy said he is confident that the meeting between the Russian and Japanese foreign ministers - to be held in Paris, where Andrey Kozyrev and Michio Watanabe will join the ceremony of signing the international convention on chemical arms - will be purposeful. According to the diplomat, he remembers not a single meeting between the two countries' foreign ministers confined to generalities.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman believes that in Paris, the two foreign ministers will discuss "the most urgent problems in bilateral relations." According to him, they might even discuss the possibility of resuming preparations for an official visit to Japan by President, Boris Yeltsin, which was postponed last year. Yastrzhembskiy made it clear that Moscow would like such a visit to not only take place, but to also be productive.

Regrets Sihanouk's Anti-UN Decision

LD1201144893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1247 GMT 12 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Sergey Postanogov and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—"Russia regrets Prince Sihanouk's decision to stop cooperating with the U.N. interim organ in Cambodia—UNTAG—and with the Phnom Penh authorities," Sergey Yastrzhembskiy, head of the Russian Foreign Ministry's information and press department, told a briefing here today.

"The implementation of this decision," he stated, "may paralyse the work of the Cambodian Supreme National Council, may weaken the interaction of all sides with the UNTAG, may jeopardise the U.N. peace-making mission."

Commenting on the situation in the country, Yastrzhembskiy said that the Khmer Rouge were sabotaging the United Nations preparations for general elections in Cambodia. Forcible detainment of UNTAG officials is becoming increasingly frequent. A group of U.N. personnel was subjected to an armed attack shortly before the new year. "The faction's destructive course," the spokesman of the Russian Foreign Ministry said, "calls in question the possibility of the Cambodian problem being solved by political means and creates a threat to peace and stability in southeast Asia."

"The Russian side," Yastrzhembskiy said, "strongly condemns the course pursued by the Democratic Kampuchia faction, aimed at fanning up inter-ethnic enmity in Cambodia. The killing of scores of Cambodians of Vietnamese origin constitutes a very gross violation of human rights, openly tramples under foot the fundamental norms of international law."

Yastrzhembskiy stressed that the escalation of instability and the threat of a new military confrontation undermined confidence among the Cambodian factions, prevented the creation of a neutral political environment, necessary to hold free elections in Cambodia. "Russia," he stated, "is firmly convinced that forcible methods of solving the Cambodian problem are impracticable. It urges all the Khmer sides to avert confrontation."

Moscow To Provide Aid Convoy for Bosnia

PM1201143993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jan 93 Morning Edition p 3

[Gennadiy Charodeyev report: "Moscow To Give Humanitarian Aid to Former Yugoslavia"]

[Text] Russia will provide 10 KamAZ trucks and 30 drivers and mechanics on a paid basis for the shipment of humanitarian goods to Bosnia and Hercegovina.

In this regard REUTER notes considerable UN interest in the fact that it is a Russian convoy [avtogruppa] with

special experience of wintry and dangerous conditions that is taking part in the shipments.

In conversation with IZVESTIYA's correspondent, Sergey Yastrzhembskiy, director of the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry's Information and Press Department, announced that in the first phase it is planned that, beginning in February, a two-month contract will be signed for the convoy, and this may later be extended. For the Russian side, he said, it is the humanitarian rather than the commercial aspect that has priority in this action.

"If this agreement is implemented successfully," the diplomat went on to say, "channels will be opened for practical cooperation between Russia and UN institutions within the framework of global humanitarian aid programs."

Kozyrev Comments on START II, Bosnia

MK1201113593 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Jan 93 pp 1-2

[Interview with Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev by Mikhail Karpov; place and date not given: "Psychological Shock Sometimes Needed. In Andrey Kozyrev's Opinion, That Approach Is Simply Essential for Diplomats"]

[Text] [Karpov] Andrey Vladimirovich, many people recently have been wondering what would have happened to Russian foreign policy had the conservatives or national patriots been victorious at the Congress. Would, for instance, the conclusion of anything approximating the START II Treaty have been possible?

[Kozyrev] Many people realized this after my speech in Stockholm. There I engaged in a fairly risky experiment, and at first, it cannot be denied, some of my colleagues—from the West and from our immediate neighbors—took some umbrage at it. Now, however, I no longer encounter people now who do not acknowledge it to have been justified. Why? Because now they know and we know precisely what might have lain in store for us: A "second edition" of the cold war is even more disadvantageous to everyone than the first. Only whereas then you had a huge USSR riding the crest of the industrial development of the time, a USSR that could at the cost of the lives of millions of people win victories like that over fascism in World War II, now it no longer exists. Should we really once more gather together in special camps the inventors and manufacturers of missiles and other armaments and channel the entire economy into a single sphere to develop all these interminable missiles and warheads? Whereas the Soviet Union of Stalin's and Brezhnev's time was capable of such monstrous feats, let us be blunt and say—and I think it is time our national patriots realized this—you cannot reproduce the past. In any case Russia will not be the Soviet Union. So, if there is a repetition of the cold war, like everything in history, it will repeat itself as a farce. But the colossal losses that we have succeeded in avoiding this year will be real losses.

If the national patriots were to have attempted to extinguish any conflict, that attempt simply would have involved bloodshed. All our close neighbors would have been transformed not into the poorly functioning CIS that we have now, or even a better or worse version of it, but into a real new cordon sanitaire of hostile states within which millions of Russians would indeed have become hostages. After all, no representative of any national-patriotic current has proved that he would be able to send a helicopter or tank to school with every Russian child.

I am not talking about Eastern Europe, which would have made every effort instantly if not to join, then at least to worm its way into NATO. And all other states, not to mention our closest neighbors, would have lost interest in us were events to have taken that course.

For instance, it would have been impossible to imagine anything like the president's visit to China. Yet China is our worthy and great ally. The visit showed the whole world that Russia is a great power capable of playing on several levels of world policy at once. The fact that we are able to have special relations with China undoubtedly increases our clout in the eyes of America. Just as the fact that we are able to have a global strategic partnership with the United States increases our clout in relations with China. Moreover, this is not a matter of our playing some card or other against our partners. This demonstrates our impressive qualities. And all that would have been lost.

[Karpov] Suppose the West realized all that. How would it react, in your view?

[Kozyrev] Our experience in Stockholm shows that our partners in the West sometimes have to be stirred up. Almost shaken, in fact. Needless to say, they take a very sympathetic view of our reforms. There is evidence they do want them to succeed. But let us be frank and say that we know that the West is generally inclined toward a reasonable, sometimes even more than reasonable, egoism. They are living their own normal life, where they too are encountering problems: the trade war with the United States, or Maastricht, for instance. These are very serious issues for them, they have earned the right to regard them as problems, and we do not belittle their significance. One person has a seed pearl, while the other has thin cabbage soup. After 40 years of postwar development they may allow themselves to think that they have the seed pearl, the better bargain. But we must overcome this barrier of reasonable egoism on their part.

In order to do this it is necessary for a person not only to feel sympathy for us, but also to realize that our reforms are something that concerns him directly. Thus, these reforms have to be translated into the language of foreign policy. As long as your neighbor is experiencing terrible strains but behaves in a proper and civilized fashion, you

feel kindly disposed toward him and want to support, sympathize with, and help him. But when you see your neighbor writhing and suffering convulsions and you realize that he may quite well turn into a beast, you have quite a different desire. For if that transformation does occur, it will be too late to help. And the West will respond differently to it. But if a kind of inoculation is administered, as a kind of preventive measure, the response will be completely different. The response will be: What has to be done to prevent this? In other words, how can we help the reform in Russia?

I am sure that in the near future we will see the question of aid for us being put somewhat differently. We put in a claim for aid late last year, and I believe that the West and the world around us as a whole will respond more seriously to it.

I think the next G-7 meeting will be the culmination of this. There you will see a completely different approach to aid for the reforms.

[Karpov] Did this course adopted by Russian diplomacy also affect work on the conclusion of the START II Treaty?

[Kozyrev] I think you can say that without exaggeration. After all, at negotiations the factor of inertia and of the traditionalist approach to the problem always is strong. For all that, on both sides some of the old team are taking part in the talks. That cannot be avoided. You cannot manage talks with novices alone. But any team proves to have accumulated many stereotypes. And they are very hard to overcome.

Here is a specific example. Under START I the U.S. side was given the opportunity to have a real edge through so-called nominal counting whereby bombers were equated to one unit. It has now proved possible to get the Americans to reveal their aircraft's real armament. That is, where one warhead was nominally counted, now 20 or 16 are counted. Imagine the significance of this from the viewpoint of political psychology! Imagine what this means for the negotiators—the diplomats and military. For several decades no one touched that sacred cow!

All this has become possible owing to a change in political relationships. When the framework accord was secured, all this was set out in big figures. At the end of November came the moment when specific experts and specific generals had to translate this general political accord into specific language. For instance, they had to take and "expose" that same B-52 that was counted as a single unit. They had to acknowledge that it carries bombs, long-range missiles, and short-range attack missiles. This was indeed revolutionary thinking. Without some kind of jolt, so to speak, this shake-up certainly would not have happened to people who had spent years just "sitting" at the talks.

The real possibility of a change of course that became apparent at the Congress probably was the jolt that made it possible to recall what Yeltsin's policy is. When I arrived in Stockholm I had this simple idea: Our partners have not yet experienced such a transition. After all, from the very outset we began to behave as civilized participants in the world process. Whereas some people did have some misgivings at the beginning, these were dispelled rapidly. This helped us preserve continuity. We were accepted everywhere—from the Security Council and so on—and we only stood to gain from that. But at the same time our partners began to display some slackness; they felt that this was something that was happening on its own. They ceased to realize that everything in our country was happening with incredible difficulty. A great many people within Russia do not understand this policy and dispute it—and therefore it must be valued, it must be taken into consideration and the reforms assisted.

[Karpov] So, do you support shock therapy in foreign policy to the extent Gaydar did in domestic policy?

[Kozyrev] Yes, when I sensed that our partners had to be shaken up because the talks could not be concluded without that. I will give you another example to show why this shake-up was necessary. We suddenly come to a question that simply is illegitimate for a disarmament negotiating team. The question of economic interests. We want to keep the SS-18 launch silos. Let us start by saying that these represent a symbol, a bugbear for them. And here, too, there are economic interests, which are quite a different matter altogether. A great deal had to be done to achieve this improbable outcome [chtoby vvesti etu loshad v senat]. The prosaic side of life was brought into the refined atmosphere of the disarmament talks. Certainly, we don't need the silos to pickle gherkins, but to hold new missiles, the missiles to which we are transferring. We are switching from multiple-warhead to single-warhead missiles. How can you make your partners accept that argument without shaking them up?

The success is by no means due to the fact that the Russians previously had bad negotiators and now they have good ones. Reform and social evolution are under way, and this must be taken into consideration by our partners, who must realize that it is in their interests for us to save money.

A favorite topic is this: Is Kozyrev quitting or not? I will tell you: I personally have no intention of quitting while treaties like START II are being concluded. That kind of foreign policy is right up my alley. That was why I came to Yeltsin two years ago. Not for an elevated position. I was convinced that the best post in the Foreign Ministry is that of head of the International Organizations Administration. He gets involved in intelligent work and real global diplomacy. No one blames him for everything or accuses him of treachery. That was my golden age. Yet I left all that for Yeltsin. It suits me as long as he continues his policy, and I consider that I am making correct policy.

Of course, a person does not hold the post of minister indefinitely, but this is not a hint that I intend to resign.

It is merely a statement of fact. But any other minister, if he is not prepared to unhesitatingly sacrifice all national interests, will be forced to start by assuring all his colleagues, from our immediate neighbors to the most distant countries, that Russia's foreign policy will remain unchanged.

[Karpov] Following the signing of START II, Presidents Yeltsin and Bush did not respond with total clarity on the question of their stance on Yugoslavia. Has Russia's viewpoint changed? How can it be correlated with the ideas of the world community and the United States?

[Kozyrev] I don't believe the base position has changed. The fact that the situation itself is changing is another matter. The round of talks in Geneva has ended with a recess; the sides are considering their positions. I believe that prior to this round of talks we did everything we could to force them to take constructive proposals there. We almost dragged some of them there by the hand. I met many people in Geneva. Then I spoke to Milosevic from Moscow. I think that the line taken by Butrus-Ghali, Vance, and Owen is the most realistic one. Their proposals have put everyone in an equally unpleasant position. It is no surprise to me that the first round ended in a desire to take time out and think everything over.

I believe that we have in this time been able to achieve two things. We have been able to get the idea into the heads of the Serbs in Belgrade and the Serbs fighting in Bosnia, as well as the Muslims and the Croats, that none of them can win a victory by force of arms. In particular, it has proved possible to get the Muslims to realize that indeed no embargo on arms shipments will be lifted and that they should not expect some kind of international armada to come along and sort out all their questions.

Moreover, it has proved possible to get this idea into the heads of all three parties simply through diplomatic maneuvering and without use of the veto. As a diplomat I believe that recourse to the right of veto constitutes a personal defeat for you. When you press the button and are the only one in opposition to everyone else. Yet for some reason some national patriots or, quite simply, oppositionists very much want that time to come and Russia to avail itself of that right. No one will persuade me that it represents a diplomatic victory for you to be left isolated, even if you are right. In that respect all the U.S. vetos regarding Israel represent foreign policy failures inasmuch as for all its clout the United States could not persuade its allies that it was right.

We, however, essentially have succeeded in using our veto, but not in the form of a resolution. We in essence blocked the posing in practical terms of the question of lifting the arms embargo on Bosnia. At the General Assembly we do not have the right of veto, and the resolution got through; but at the Security Council this resolution was not even put to a vote.

The no-fly ban imposed over Bosnia is being violated not only—and not so much—by the Serb side, but also by the Croat side.

The constructive proposals we put forward in Stockholm are not very well known. One was to ban the use of aviation in these kinds of conflicts altogether because this causes a totally different level of devastation. This ban may be extended only to Bosnia and Hercegovina. That is, to the area where the war is under way, but not to Serbia.

We now have persuaded our Western partners—I am referring to both Balkan and Muslim countries—that this is not a question of political rhetoric. I am constantly asking: Do you want to use force in Bosnia because you think that not enough is being used there? Or do you want to resolve the specific task of how to reduce the use of the latest weapons, in particular aviation weapons? Whereupon a specific discussion begins, and it turns out that this is not an anti-Serb action, but one to defend the civilian population—the Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina included.

[Karpov] Could you say a few words about your upcoming meeting in Paris with [Japanese Foreign Minister] Watanabe....

[Kozyrev] I expect this meeting to at least keep things ticking along. Up to now we have succeeded in accomplishing this task with, admittedly, great difficulty, despite obvious attempts to have things take a different course. At all international gatherings I willingly engage in contacts with Watanabe so that it is clear that there is no decline in Russian-Japanese relations. We may not have scaled the heights, but neither have we fallen into the abyss. There is complete cooperation between us on 99 percent of international issues. There is just one painful sore; thus, Russia and Japan are two states that cooperate quite normally in the international arena.

Kozyrev Arrives in Finland, Invites Koivisto To Visit

LD1201131093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1148 GMT 12 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Aleksandr Surikov and Georgiy Shmelyov]

[Text] Helsinki January 12 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin invited President of Finland Mauno Koivisto to visit Russia. The invitation will be extended to Koivisto by visiting Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev.

Kozyrev told reporters upon arrival to Helsinki that his talks in Finland will cover the whole range of bilateral relations and will focus on border issues, including the opening of new checkpoints and the development of border trade.

"We attach priority importance to Russian-Finnish relations" he said.

Dwelling upon the situation in former Yugoslavia, Kozyrev said that Russia takes steps to make all the

parties involved in the conflict accept the Vance-Owen settlement plan. "We are in contact with all sides", he added.

Kozyrev, Vaeyrynen Hold News Conference

LD1201194493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1913 GMT 12 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Aleksandr Surikov and Georgiy Shmelyov]

[Text] Helsinki January 12 TASS—The meeting with President Mauno Koivisto and substantial negotiations with Foreign Minister Paavo Vaeyrynen enabled Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev to state the transition from relations Soviet Union-Finland to relations Russia-Finland in political sphere was done quickly and painlessly.

The positive capital accumulated over decades was preserved, Kozyrev told a news conference here today on results of his official Finnish visit.

Russia and Finland were the first to sign a document of the new type - the treaty on fundamentals of relations, which attached European measurement to the Russian-Finnish cooperation developing on principles of equality and democratism.

The official Finnish visit of Russian President Boris Yeltsin in July, 1992, and agreements achieved then were a landmark in this sense, he said. The visit laid down the reliable basis for resolute progress. There are no essential unsolved problems in the Russian-Finnish political relations, noted Kozyrev.

He said special attention during today's conversations was paid to preparations of the upcoming Russian visit of President Mauno Koivisto, which, in his words, will be a new landmark in bilateral relations and give additional impetus to enhanced cooperation, primarily the solution of problems in the trade and economic sphere.

Helsinki negotiations, in the minister's opinion, showed mutual striving of Russia and Finland to the consolidation of stability in the Northern-Baltic and Euro-Arctic regions and formation of regional structures within the framework of the Council of Baltic Sea States and the Barents Council.

When discussing international issues, the sides exchanged opinion on prospects for European economic integration, the cooperation with EC and NATO and further steps within the CSCE process.

[Moscow ITAR-TASS in English at 1953 GMT on 12 January adds the following: "Finnish Foreign Minister Paavo Vaeyrynen evaluated positively Russian-Finnish talks, describing their results as fruitful. He said today's meeting was of particular importance as 28 years have passed since the last official visit by the foreign minister of Russia (then the Soviet Union) to Finland.

["Noting that Finland was the pioneer in building ties with a new Russia, Vaeyrynen stressed: 'We now live in a Europe of cooperation, in which old opposites ceased to exist and in which together we meet severe challenges associated with maintaining peace and security, economic and social development and ensuring human rights and the rights of the minorities.

["'From the point of view of Finland's security, it is very important that we have good relations with all neighbours and that conditions in near-by regions are stable. We are satisfied that after the break-up of the Soviet Union we managed to form at once effective cooperative ties with Russia, its successor state.' The minister emphasised as an essential factor that in military terms no one threatens Finland.

["Touching on international problems, Vaeyrynen voiced hope that cooperation between the Nordic countries and Russia will be expanded and outstanding issues in relations between Russia and the Baltic states will be solved.

["Answering questions, Andrey Kozyrev said Russia does not intend to concentrate troops and armaments near its borders with Finland. 'We reached an understanding on this score with the Finnish side,' he said.

["Commenting on the possible use of force in former Yugoslavia, Kozyrev said any use of force should be thoroughly considered from political and military points of view and specific talk on this issue can be held only after it is discussed in the Security Council."]

Kozyrev Ends Visit, Departs for Paris

LD1201172993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1658 GMT 12 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Aleksandr Surikov and Georgiy Shmelyov]

[Text] Helsinki January 12 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev has completed his official visit to Finland.

During the one-day Helsinki stay, the minister met Finnish President Mauno Koivisto and had negotiations with Foreign Minister Paavo Vayrynen. At a news conference the Russian foreign minister expressed satisfaction with results of his conversations with the Finnish officials.

This evening the Russian delegation left for Paris to attend the ceremony of signing the international convention to ban chemical arms.

Transportation Talks With Lithuania Begin

OW1201164693 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1631 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A delegation of the Lithuanian Ministry of Transportation, headed by its minister Jonas Birziskis, began talks with their Russian counterparts in Moscow this Tuesday [12 January]. The parties are expected to reach an accord for covering the countries' mutual debts in passenger and freight transportation.

BALTFAX has learned at the Lithuanian Ministry of Transportation that Russia's debt to Lithuania amounts to 2.5 billion rubles, while Lithuania's debt to its partners in Russia is 10 times as small. The signing of a bilateral agreement on passenger and freight transportation was postponed after Russia expressed a request for highway transit through Lithuania to Kaliningrad region. The Lithuanian specialists raised an objection, insisting that a separate agreement should be concluded regarding Russia's freight transit through Lithuania's highways.

The negotiating parties are also expected to address the issues related to railroad transit through Lithuania to Kaliningrad region.

NATO Commander To Visit Moscow 27-30 Jan

OW1201200593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1948 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] General John D. Shalikashvili, the commander-in-chief of the NATO Joint Forces in Europe, is scheduled to visit Moscow on January 27-30. During his visit to Moscow Shalikashvili will meet with the Russian Defense Minister, Pavel Grachev.

Official Forsees Business Prospects in Weapons Sales

OW1101201693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1434 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Undoubtedly, arms sales are a promising business for Russia, says Valery Mironov, Chief of the Department of Military-Technical Cooperation of the Russian Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations.

He told INTERFAX that this branch of Russian exports should be broadened and noted that all of the civilized states were engaged in this business.

He also said that Russia should continue to deal with the Middle East partners, noting, however, that he meant the states to which the UN sanctions do not apply.

He also said that the South-Eastern region might become a new market for Russian armaments, above all aviation, anti-aircraft facilities and equipment for the land troops.

The United Arab Emirates are greatly interested in importing Russian armaments, he said. These states believe that Russia has quite competitive and modern types of weapons. Russian land equipment showed excellent performance in that region, he continued. He also said that Abu Dabi would like to get acquainted with new types of Russian weapons - above all anti-aircraft equipment.

Former Soviet republics may also become buyers of Russian weapons. Requests for importing armaments have arrived from Uzbekistan and Belarus. It is not ruled out that Ukraine will import Russian weapons, too. Armenia and Georgia also applied for purchasing Russian armaments. Mironov said that the form of payments for arms supplies will be agreed upon individually. So far, payments may be made in roubles, or in the form of barter exchanges.

He refuted reports about Turkey's plans to buy a large lot of Russian weapons and pass it over to Azerbaijan. These reports are aimed at discrediting Russian-Turkish military-technical cooperation, he added. "At least, unofficially, I was given to understand that if Turkey decides to import Russian armaments, it will be responsible for the end user," said Mironov.

TASS Launches Information Exchange With India

LD1201192093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1822 GMT 12 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Zaytsev]

[Text] New Delhi January 12 TASS—MODITAR is the name of a Russian-Indian joint venture whose creation was announced at a press conference in the Indian capital today. It integrates the powerful potential of the ITAR-TASS, which is among the world's leading news agencies, and a group of the Modi companies, one of the largest in India.

The essence of the project implemented by MODITAR is to create a large-capacity and effective telecommunications and information channel. It will accord businessmen of both countries and various enterprises in Russia and India an opportunity to get direct, without any intermediaries, access to necessary data and economic information. Moreover, the structure of the already existing ITAR-TASS satellite network will enable subscribers in India to contact not only Russia but also other CIS countries, European, Asian, African and Latin American states.

Both Russia and India stand to benefit from this project, head of the Modi companies group B. K. Modi emphasised. As economic reforms are enacted with determination in both countries, the reliable channel for receiving all necessary information live, in a matter of minutes, will provide a fresh impetus to bilateral trade and economic cooperation and the quest for its new forms, Modi said.

ITAR-TASS General Director Vitaliy Ignatenko pointed out that the establishment of close business relations

with the group of the Modi companies, a tested and reliable partner, will enable Russia and India to tap and use their vast potentialities. Undoubtedly, we made a correct decision, Ignatenko noted. He voiced hope that MODITAR's activity will make it possible to make a tangible contribution to backing up and boosting economic reforms which are vitally important for both states.

It is symptomatic that the new joint venture was formed in the run-up to Russian President Boris Yeltsin's official visit to India, which is scheduled for the closing days of this month. Contacts in the field of telecommunications and information exchange is one area of the multifaceted bilateral cooperation which is expected to be boosted as a result of the forthcoming signing in New Delhi of a package of important documents covering political, trade, economic, scientific and cultural ties between the two countries.

MODITAR's activity will also expedite the modernisation of the new Russian economic infrastructure, primarily Russia's stock exchanges by supplying the most advanced equipment produced at plants of the group of the Modi companies, speakers at the press conference stressed.

Chernomyrdin Praises Talks With Kazakhstan

PM1301095393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Jan 93 First Edition p 1

[Margarita Ziangirova report: "Russia-Kazakhstan: Treaty Worth More Than Money. Always Possible To Find Common Language When Both Sides Show Goodwill"]

[Text] Omsk—Viktor Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers, praised highly the meeting of Russian and Kazakhstan government delegations which took place in Omsk and at which an agreement on the principles of economic, scientific and technical, and cultural cooperation between the two sovereign states was signed. In the opinion of Sergey Tereshchenko, Republic of Kazakhstan head of government, the agreement in question is yet one more step toward creating a single economic area between Russia and Kazakhstan.

After the intergovernmental meeting, Viktor Chernomyrdin visited the Omsk Engine-Building Production Association named for Baranov. Only a few years ago this industrial enterprise was one of the links in the Siberian military-industrial complex. Here engines were produced for supermodern fighter-interceptors. Now this enterprise, like many others in the defense sector, is continuing its development within the framework of conversion.

After visiting the plant museum, the Russian Government's prime minister visited the association's shops. Here his talk with the leaders of Omsk's most important enterprises took place. The final stage of Chernomyrdin's visit to Omsk was his meeting with the oblast's leaders. Viktor Stepanovich assessed the results of the Omsk talks as follows:

"The foundations we laid at the Omsk meeting are only the beginning of a long road. In essence all the Russian and Kazakhstan Governments did was to attend a meeting of 20 contiguous territories, thereby confirming one simple truth: The center of gravity for carrying out all the reforms is now being transferred to the regions. And Omsk Oblast is the leader in this. The most important thing is for the regions to be able to come to an understanding among themselves."

Together with the prime minister, Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin, Minister of Internal Affairs Viktor Yerin, and representatives of Russian Federation ministries and departments took part in the talks in Omsk between Russia and Kazakhstan.

Ambassador Reviews 1992 Relations With China

OW1301022493 Moscow Radio Moscow in Mandarin 1000 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Report on interview with Igor Rogachev, Russian ambassador to China, by station reporter Beiauk Tsvetov in Beijing; date not given—read by announcer]

[Excerpt] Traditionally, people like to look back on the past year on the eve of the new year, reviewing the work done and looking forward to the future. Today we would like to invite you to listen to this conversation between Igor Rogachev, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation to the People's Republic of China, and (Beiauk Tsvetov), our station reporter in Beijing.

Russia's relations with China have always occupied a special position in international politics. Interest in these relations grew stronger after Russian President Yeltsin's visit to China.

Mr. Ambassador, would you please say something about events that occurred in Russian-Chinese relations in 1992, and the prospects for future developments?

[Rogachev is briefly heard speaking in Russian, fading into Chinese translation]

Ambassador Rogachev said: I believe that Russian diplomatic personnel and their Chinese colleagues have every reason to evaluate the past year favorably. In late 1991 there was a brief period of [word indistinct] in Russian-Chinese relations, the signs of which were cautiousness and uncertainty. This phase is, however, already past. Yeltsin's meeting with Premier Li Peng in New York marked the beginning of Russian-Chinese political dialogue, a process that witnessed positive progress throughout 1992. By the time Yeltsin visited China, a dozen or so ministerial-level delegations had already come and gone. The commission for economic,

trade and scientific and technological cooperation between the two countries has also resumed its work; last August, Russian Vice Premier Shokhin and Chinese Vice Premier Tian Jiyun presided over its first meeting in Moscow. The most important event was, certainly, Russian President Yeltsin's visit to China. During his visit, the two countries signed 24 agreements and adopted a declaration by the People's Republic of China and the Russian Federation on the basic principles governing their bilateral relations, thereby laying a foundation for the long-term development of Russian-Chinese relations.

Ambassador Rogachev continued: Economic relations and trade between the two countries developed rapidly in 1992. Preliminary figures show that the annual trade volume was $5 billion, surpassing the volume of trade China had with the former Soviet Union. Border trade accounts for 80 percent the trade volume. In the past, trade was conducted chiefly under agreements between the two governments. Today, more than 2,000 Russian enterprises have been granted the right to sell directly to China, and they have been exercising this right with the greatest enthusiasm.

The reporter asked: Could the situation lead to some sort of chaos in Russian-Chinese economic relations?

Ambassador Rogachev replied: This is a very good question. In addition to growth in trade volume, we have also noticed some unhealthy tendencies in the development of economic relations and trade. Incompetence on the part of some Russian entrepreneurs, inadequate knowledge of the Chinese market, and so forth have often resulted [word indistinct] in trade. Russian businessmen are mainly exporting raw materials and fuels to China; machinery exports have dropped significantly. Consumer goods account for 80 percent of Chinese exports to Russia. All in all, there are many problems.

For example, the border ports' capacity for handling goods is quite limited. Now, the existing border ports, whose number has risen to 19, are still unable to handle the passage of personnel, cars, and trains between the two nations. For example, commodities from Russia—amounting to thousands of boxcars in volume terms—are stranded in Manzhouli. The only solution is, we believe, to open more border ports. An agreement signed during the visit has provisions regarding this. We will have more talks with China in the future on setting up technology and economic zones in the border areas between the two nations. The 4,300-km borderline between our two countries is the longest in the world; areas along the border have the conditions for introducing preferential tariffs and developing business.

The reporter asked: Last year was the first year with a Russian ambassador after the demise of the Soviet Union. The CIS has emerged from the former Soviet Union. In view of this situation, how the Russian Embassy organizing its work?

Rogachev said: New characteristics have emerged in our life. For us, Russia's national interests come first. Meanwhile, I am fully aware of the problems facing other members of the CIS. It is our belief that the Russian Embassy's mission is to promote and enhance all CIS members interests. China is interested in meeting with heads of state, heads of government, and ministers of the CIS republics. We have always offered our services to help other CIS members establish or expand relations with China. Governments of the former union members requested assistance from us and we gladly obliged, offering them services in communications, establishing contacts, and information. [passage omitted]

Referendum Issues

Yeltsin, Abdulatipov Discuss Russian Constitution

LD1201150493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1425 GMT 12 Jan

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Maria Kuzmenkova]

[Text] Moscow, 12 Jan (ITAR-TASS)—Ramazan Abdulatipov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of Russia, assessed Boris Yeltsin's attitude to the new constitution of Russia as very "positive and constructive."

Speaking to an ITAR-TASS correspondent about his meeting with the president today, Ramazan Abdulatipov said that during this meeting, which was held on the latter's initiative, Boris Yeltsin put forward a number of proposals which may "improve our federative relations and the national policy of Russia. These include, in particular, the idea of strengthening in the constitution the priority of the Soviet of Nationalities in the system of legislative power."

Ramazan Abdulatipov also said that the problem of Tatarstan was touched on. He stressed that the meeting between the Russian and Tatarstan delegations planned for around 20-29 January will take place under the aegis of Boris Yeltsin, but will in no event be a meeting between the two presidents. The treaty which has been drawn up, the chairman of the chamber thinks, is on the whole a good document which could be the subject of further discussion.

["Moscow INTERFAX in English at 1446 GMT on 12 January, in an item transmitted via KYODO, adds the following: "Preparations for the April referendum on the main provisions of the new Russian Constitution was the main topic for discussion at a meeting between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Chairman of the Russian Parliament's Council of Nationalities Ramazan Abdulatipov on January 12.

["Abdulatipov told INTERFAX that he had asked the president to take into account "the diversity of our federative state and to carry out reform without causing any detriment to its integrity." He said that the idea of electing deputies to the Council of Nationalities as to the Higher Chamber of the Russian Parliament had been discussed.

["Abdulatipov also announced that there had been talk of agreements between the Russian Federation and Tatarstan and Chechnya. The president considered that this process would have to be carried out with great caution in granting the maximum independence and sovereignty, while not endangering Russia's territorial integrity. Abdulatipov pointed out that the first meeting between state delegations from Tatarstan and delegations from Russia's general federal power bodies under the aegis of the Russian president would take place as early as this month.

["The Chairman of the Council of Nationalities gave a high appraisal to the "level of preparedness" of the draft agreement on the division of functions between Tatarstan and the Russian Federation. Some of its articles, however, would require extra consultations, he said."]

Rumyantsev, Ryabov on Referendum Preparations

OW1201165193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1447 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The key issue for the April referendum will be which out of the Congress of People's Deputies, the Founding Assembly or the new composition of the Supreme Council should accept the new Constitution. This was contained in a statement made at a session of the Constitutional Commission on Tuesday by the commission's senior secretary, Oleg Rumyantsev. Rumyantsev stressed that the above choice must be made by the people. He said that the Constitutional Commission should organize a round table with the representatives of the main political forces in attendance to discuss the text proposed for the referendum.

The senior secretary stressed that in his view the most difficult matter would be agreement with those republics within the Russian Federation over the text. He said that there was a real danger that some of these republics would prevent or ignore a referendum. Rumyantsev spoke in favour of postponing the referendum until June so as to allocate more time for pre-referendum campaigning.

Nikolay Ryabov, parliament's deputy chairman, warned in turn that "current legislation was so incomplete and out of line with current political realities that colossal and almost insurmountable difficulties were being created for the holding of the referendum." Ryabov saw the only way out of this situation as "finding a mutually acceptable formula which would satisfy, above all, the voters, then the subjects of the Russian Federation, and, last of all, the central power bodies."

Further Ryabov Comment

OW1101201493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1433 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Nikolay Ryabov, the deputy chairman of the Russian Parliament, believes that it is necessary to focus major efforts to prepare for the April 11 referendum on the main provisions of the draft Constitution. In his interview with INTERFAX, Ryabov warned that if the results of the referendum are negative - the majority of the population saying "no" or not participating in the

voting - it will signal a crisis of power. He pointed out that under this situation "all three branches of power that initiated this referendum should resign." To prevent this, he believes, one should not be in a hurry and send the developed draft to the territories for consideration as the constitutional commission insists. The deputy chairman of the parliament noted that the draft developed by the commission reflects only one approach. On his order, a number of institutes and research centers should present alternative variants before January 20. "The working group will develop a uniform text on their basis, which will further be forwarded to the parliamentary committee and commissions for consideration and also to the President and the constitutional court. Only after that will it be sent to the territories."

The Parliament should confirm the wording of the question put forward for the referendum which, Ryabov thinks, "should be published in the press no later than March this year." Speaking about the referendum on private ownership of land (1.8 million signatures have been collected in support of this referendum), Ryabov expressed his opinion that due to the corresponding amendment to the Constitution - adopted by the Congress of the people's deputies - there is no ground for a referendum on this issue. Ryabov believes this amendment abolishes the subject of the dispute, though the initiators of the signatories' collection consider the adopted decisions inappropriate.

Political Issues

Government Appoints Golovkov Ministerial Adviser

LD1201125193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0900 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Text] Aleksey Golovkov has been appointed private adviser [vneshtatnyy sovetnik] to the chairman of Russia's Council of Ministers by a Russian Government resolution. Aleksey Golovkov previously headed the staff of Yegor Gaydar's government. He was replaced in this post by Vladimir Kvasov through a recent presidential decree.

[Moscow INTERFAX in English at 1643 GMT on 12 January, in an item transmitted via KYODO, adds: "An INTERFAX reporter was told in the Cabinet press office that Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin had moved A. Golovkov from the position of the Cabinet chief of staff and appointed him Premier's councillor outside the official payroll."]

Kvasov Explains Appointment as Chief of Staff

LD1201140093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1125 GMT 12 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyampolski]

[Moscow January 12 TASS—The newly-appointed head of the government staff, Vladimir Kvasov, does not believe there were any political reasons for his replacement of Aleksey Golovkov at the post.

"I have worked in the staff of the (Soviet) Government for 12 years and have a big experience in running the bureacracy", he told TASS on Tuesday, adding that this was the reason for his appointment.

Kvasov was an associate of Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin when the latter headed the state "Gasprom' concern.

Golovkov occupied the post while radical marketeer Yegor Gaydar was acting prime minister.

However, Golovkov was not dismissed completely. He was appointed an adviser to the prime minister.

Civic Union Leaders Discuss Tasks for 1993

OW1301125693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1209 GMT 13 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Tuesday evening [12 January], the leaders of the Civic Union political alliance gathered for an informal meeting. According to well-informed sources, the participants in the meeting—among them Rutskoy, Vladislavlev, Travkin and Lipitsky—discussed the results of 1992 and tasks for the next year.

The discussion was preliminary, as the final assessment of the political situation will be given during the first meeting of this alliance's Political Consultative Council on January 16.

The Political Council is also expected to start the discussion of the Civic Union's strategic program, which is to become the basis of its election program. In addition to that, the Political Council is expected to discuss the organization of the Civic Union congress and work out the agenda. The congress is likely to be held at the end of February 1993. During it, its members will determine their position regarding the national referendum and to the idea of early elections.

On Saturday [16 January] the Political Council is expected to give a press conference.

Civic Union Faction, Social Democratic Center Sign Pact

OW1201184293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1643 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A political collaboration agreement was signed on Tuesday between the People's Party "Svobodnaya Rossiya", which is part of Civic Union, and the Russian Social Democratic Centre by their leaders, Vassily Lipitsky and Oleg Rumyantsev respectively.

The two parties intend to collaborate on the following basis: the preservation of Russia's integrity; assistance with the establishment of a social market economy with the state playing an active regulatory role; the strengthening of the legal system; assistance in the acceptance of the new Russian Constitution; and opposition to demonstrations of political radicalism.

The two parties will work in close liason both in parliament and at the Congress of People's Deputies and in the election campaign for 1993-94.

Specific action to ensure that a "pragmatically orientated government" is formed is also part of the agreement. Vassily Lipitsky told an INTERFAX correspondent that the two parties were in favour of "other models for forming the cabinet" during the period of economic and political crisis. The government must, he stressed, bear the the main responsibility not before the president but before social forces. Regarding the composition of the current cabinet, Lipitsky said that "this issue was of secondary importance."

'Democratic Union' Demands Political Prisoners' Release

MK1201151093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Jan 93 p 2

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA report under "In Brief" rubric: "Democratic Union Looks After Political Prisoners"]

[Text] The Moscow Coordinating Council of the "Democratic Union" party, true to its assumed function as defender of the people's rights, has adopted a statement demanding the repeal of Article 70 of the code (public calls to overthrow the existing system), since "not a single system has fallen because of such calls."

Because a review of the code is a lengthy matter, to start with "Democratic Union" proposes that people arrested for, in its opinion, political reasons be released. First, Nikolay Vorobyev, member of the "Russian National Union" party and editor of VOLYA ROSSII newspaper (Yekaterinburg), who was arrested under this very article, should be freed as a matter of urgency. Second, N. Detkov, a participant in the attack on the MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS newspaper and a member of the "Pamyat" society, should likewise be freed.

So that nobody is left in any doubt about the seriousness of the party's demands, the "Democratic Union" intends to picket the MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS building 14 January.

Security Council Meets To Discuss North Caucasus

LD1301110993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1033 GMT 13 Jan 93

[Text] Moscow January 13 TASS—A regular session of the Russian Security Council is held in the Kremlin today. The agenda of the meeting held behind closed doors, as usual, was not made public. According to the sources close to the Security Council, the situation in the northern Caucasus is one of the items of the agenda.

The Security Council meets every Wednesday.

[Moscow INTERFAX in English at 1210 GMT on 13 January, in an item transmitted via KYODO, adds: "On Tuesday Vice-Premier Sergey Shakhray, who chairs the State Committee for Ethnic Policies, held a session of the Security Council's Inter-Regional Commission for the North Caucasus.

["The apparatus of the Security Council reports that the commission discussed ways of coordinating the activity of the federal executive bodies in the North Caucasus, aimed at stabilizing the situation. This commission consists of representatives of the key ministries and departments.

["On Tuesday evening, Shakhray met with the leaders of the Republic of Dagestan (the Russian Federation) and of the Stavropol territory."]

Government Leaders Embark on 'Packed' Timetable

PM1201150993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 9 Jan 93 p 1

[Lyubov Dunayeva report: "The Government's Christmas Week"]

[Text] The new year of 1993 is going to be crucial, and the government's efforts are therefore aimed at tackling the most important problems in the economy, politics, and the social sphere. It is not surprising that the timetable of the majority of leaders is so packed that no time off has been envisaged.

Chairman of the Russian Government Viktor Chernomyrdin has met with a delegation of the Republic of Tatarstan. Questions of economic relations with Russia were discussed. Great attention was paid to questions of ties in the sphere of the oil complex.

First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko has held a conference on questions concerning the licensing of certains kinds of activity. Boris Saltykov, vice premier and minister of science, higher education, and technical policy of the Russian Federation, is occupied with the problems of the commission for the regulation of social and labor relations, while Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin is preparing material for the meeting of heads of CIS states scheduled to be held in Minsk on 22 January.

Yefim Basin, recently appointed chairman of the State Committee for Questions of Architecture and Construction, is occupied with staffing the new state committee.

A meeting of the leaders of concerns belonging to the Russian construction complex is planned for next week. The meeting will discuss the general action program in the sphere of construction.

Russian Federation Atomic Energy Minister Viktor Mikhaylov is in Uzbekistan, from where he is going to Kyrgyzstan. Questions relating to the restoration of disrupted economic ties in this crucial sphere will be discussed at a meeting with the leaders of the governments of those republics and leaders of enterprises and combines which previously belonged to the USSR Ministry of Atomic Energy system.

Communications Minister Vladimir Bulgak is carrying out consultations with representatives of the Supreme Soviet and the new administration in charge of this sector (Vladimir Shumeyko). Around 2,400 enterprises are being privatized here and great attention is therefore being paid to privatization questions. These enterprises' start-up conditions vary, and this determines which will be floated first and whose process will drag on. Work on international projects on fiber-optic communications lines is in full swing. Tariffs, rates, and forms of settlement are being discussed with partners from the near foreign parts. Quite a lot of attention is being paid to the social sphere—to questions of protecting workers in the sector.

Economic & Media Issues

Yeltsin Appoints Tyumen Official as Energy Minister

LD1201135393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1327 GMT 12 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—Yuriy Shafranik was appointed by President Boris Yeltsin as Russian fuel and energy minister on Tuesday, according to the presidential press service which added that Shafranik was nominated by the prime minister for the post.

Shafranik was head of administration of the Russian oil-rich Siberian region of Tyumen and earlier headed an oil and gas producing enterprise.

New Minister Profiled

LD1201205493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2016 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—Yuriy Shafranik, the new Russian minister of fuel and power engineering, was born in 1952. He graduated from the Tyumen Industrial Institute and began working at an oil producing plant in the Tyumen region. He is a mining engineer by profession. In recent years he worked as general director of the production association Langepasneftegaz, chairman of the Tyumen Regional Council of People's Deputies and head of the Tyumen Regional Administration.

Shafranik is an advocate of a strong regional policy. In his view, the Supreme Soviet, president and government should put emphasis in their activity on defining the boundaries of independence within which regions can operate. "Eliminating the situation where regions do not have any rights will help the latter to climb out of poverty themselves and become a sturdy support for Russia," he believes.

Shafranik favours sensible foreign investments and comes out for setting up transnational companies. The first market structures in oil extraction and processing appeared with his assistance.

Shafranik is aware of the power of the news media, constantly communicates with journalists, initiated the opening of the Tyumen News Agency and participated in forming the Regional Information Centre.

Yeltsin Signs Decree on Financing Nuclear Plant

LD1201165893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1605 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Text] Moscow, 12 Jan (ITAR-TASS)—Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin signed a decree on 10 January "On the currency financing of the reconstruction of the Kola nuclear power station," the Russian president's press service reported today.

The implementation of the decree will make it possible to ensure that the currency resources required for the reconstruction of the station flow in, which is essential for the nuclear power station to attain modern safety requirements and to ensure that there is a sufficient and reliable power supply to Murmansk Oblast.

In accordance with the decree, currency earnings from the export in the years 1992-1993 of 10,000 tonnes of nickel from Murmansk Oblast by the "Nikel" production association will be directed at financing the reconstruction of the Kola nuclear power station.

Chernomyrdin Wants More Coordination in CIS Oil Sector

PM1201160593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 10 Jan 93 p 1

[Sergey Podyapolskiy TASS-'Eksklyusiv' report: "Will We Have our own OPEC? Viktor Chernomyrdin on Oil- and Gas-Extracting Enterprises in the CIS Republics"]

[Text] The omnipresent journalists have found out that among the telephones in Gaydar's office, which Viktor Chernomyrdin is now settling into, a new one has appeared labeled "Gazprom." This is evidently a necessary element in implementing one of the premier's first ideas—creating an organization to coordinate the activities of the former USSR republics' oil- and gas-extracting enterprises.

In the opinion of the Russian premier, this idea "has been maturing in the oil and gas workers' minds for a

long time now." In the words of Viktor Chernomyrdin, "it is not a matter of directly taking OPEC—the international organization regulating the volumes of oil extraction in the world and the price of crude oil—as a prototype." The idea is to join forces to support the "remnants" of the former Union's petroleum sector, which are beset by serious problems.

The petroleum extraction sector consumes much metal and resources. It is no simple task to extract 400 million tonnes a year, although in Russia conditions have been created for even more—no one in the world extracts so much. But the resources created virtually since the beginning of the century demand colossal expenditure.

It is the premier's opinion that there is nothing inexplicable in the fact that extraction is decreasing. "No one has made an error, this is down to our general decline. All capital-intensive sectors are sensitive to serious changes."

V. Chernomyrdin thinks that oil has grown scarce in the European part of the former Union. We have to begin to exploit new deposits whose yield will make up for the decline in the old ones and will guarantee steady growth. For this we have to join forces, but do so not on a political basis, like OPEC, but on a technological one. "Whether this is on the basis of joint projects or on the basis of enterprises which have undergone flotation, we must do something. There is a need for investment; everyone must invest and invest today."

It is difficult to say at present whether the idea which the Russian premier voiced in Alma-Ata will materialize. In order to form such an organization, we need to receive, aside from Kazakhstan's consent, responses from the other former USSR republics which are oil-extracting states: Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan. Azerbaijan has still not finally chosen what form its cooperation with the CIS countries will take. Turkmenistan, it seems, is gambling increasingly on its own resources. Only time will tell whether the purely economic interests of these states will increase the success of the search for forms of integration acceptable to all.

As far as Viktor Chernomyrdin is concerned, with his first steps as government leader the premier is confirming his reputation as a practical person and pragmatist.

Deputy Says Fuel, Energy Output Continues To Fall

LD1201193693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1642 GMT 12 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Ivantsov]

[Text] Moscow, 12 Jan—"The volume of fuel and energy resource output in Russia continues to fall," Andrey Konoplyanik, the Russian Federation's deputy minister of fuel and power engineering, declared today. He was addressing a news conference in the capital, devoted to the anniversary of Russia's signing of the European Energy Charter.

According to interim results, he said, the overall volume of the output of energy resources amounted in 1992 to over 1,500 billion ideal [uslovnykh] tonnes, which is 7 percent lower than the 1991 level. The extraction of oil and gas condensate fell by nearly 15 percent during the same period, and amounted to over 393 million tonnes. Gas extraction comprised 640 billion cubic meters, which is just 0.5 percent below the 1991 level, and 5 percent less coal was mined, amounting to 329 million tonnes.

The indicators for the output of individual oil-refining products also declined last year. Primary oil refining stood at 244 million tonnes, 12.5 percent less than in 1991, 35 million tonnes of gasoline were produced, which is 9 percent less, and 63 million tonnes of diesel fuel, which is 11 percent lower than the 1991 indicators also.

Last year, 6.5 percent less electrical energy was generated in Russia than during the previous year. Its total volume amounted to 833 billion kilowatt-hours.

Keeping in mind the considerable inertia in the energy sector, Andrey Konoplyanik stressed in conclusion, the downward trend in energy resource output in the country will continue to decline.

Yeltsin Directive Establishes Reconstruction Bank

PM1201140193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Jan 93 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed report under the rubric "News Service in Operation"]

[Text] Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin has signed a directive on the creation of the Russian Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Its task is to promote the formation of a market infrastructure in the country: to finance priority sectors of the Russian economy, stimulate investment activity, and help raise efficiency in the use of foreign investment credits.

Travkin More Optimistic on Economy Than Year Ago

PM1201162793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Jan 93 First Edition p 4

[Andrey Sharapov report: "The Rooster Promises Greater Hopes than the Monkey"]

[Text] Before the new year, Nikolay Travkin refused to give an interview, although his opinion on the prospects of Russia's political development following the Seventh Congress was of interest to many people. On Christmas

Eve, People's Deputy Travkin, leader of the Democratic Party of Russia, met with his Moscow voters.

In his opinion, the main task of the Seventh Congress was to correct the course of reforms, but on the eve of the forum it became clear that the presidential side did not intend to change the personnel of the government and therefore the economic policy. So it was naive to expect a peaceful situation at the Congress.

Travkin's political forecast was cautiously optimistic. New elections both to the executive and the legislature could realistically be held in spring of 1994, based on the results of the referendum in April of this year and on the provisions of the new Constitution and the new legislation on elections on a multiparty basis.

In the economic sphere, there could have been some improvements even in 1992 if the opportunities for this had not been lost. The prospects are now more favorable, and there are certain hopes of an improvement. All in all, Nikolay Travkin stressed, I have greeted the Year of the Rooster with greater optimism than the Year of the Monkey last year.

Chernomyrdin's government will still be reproached for a long time for the unpopular measures that were dictated by the policy of the previous government leadership. In particular, the transfer of 200 billion rubles to the fuel and energy complex was not "a gift from the premier to his own sector," but an enforced step to maintain its viability.

It is not out of the question that Gaydar would have had to put 400 billion into it. "Many things in the economy will now be able to be done more painlessly," Nikolay Travkin noted. "After all, it is impermissible to knock the heads of the various social strata of our society together."

Academician Advocates Economic 'Think Tank'

PM1201165793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 10 Jan 93 p 2

[Article by Academician Nikolay Petrakov, director of the Russian Academy of Sciences Institute of Market Problems: "Lessons of a Resignation"]

[Text]

Self-Confidence Is No Grounds for Staying On

Although the drama of the Yegor Gaydar government resignation was tense, it contained absolutely no surprises for me. Many assurances of the stabilization and rapid upturn of the economy, the convertibility of the ruble, and entry into the world market were given. Nothing came of them. Nor were the government's other predictions fulfilled. They said, for example, that prices would not rise more than 400 or 500 percent, but instead they leapt fiftyfold or more. In this regard the government's resignation is perfectly natural and I was surprised that Gaydar did not withdraw his candidacy for the post of head of the new government until the last moment. In the West, I believe, every outgoing prime minister is also confident that he is right, but that is not an argument for the defense.

The assurances that "everything is going according to plan" despite the fact there is no information about the plans themselves in society and when the economic situation is worsening from day to day naturally could not "sustain" the team's reputation indefinitely. Essentially this was another experiment whose subject once more was our long-suffering society. But either the subject is too intractable and complex or it was not "cured" of the ailments from which it was suffering—as we can see, there have been no results.

The Gaydar team had another characteristic guideline: "We shall work so long as the president trusts us." They did not seem to need legitimacy, only the president's support. As a result Yeltsin, who assumed the main political responsibility for Gaydar's economic reforms, suffered in public opinion as the leader of the state.

It is January 1993 and we are facing virtually the same problems as we faced in January 1992. The ruble has been turned into a kopek and the normal market does not exist. There must be a new attempt to revive the economy but this time in conditions of the population's anger and impoverishment, inflation, and a lack of belief that rapid improvements are possible.

Yegor Gaydar—the brightest figure in the former cabinet—has been replaced but his ministers have remained, although it was the whole government and not just the vice premier who received a poor rating. In my view this is a breach of ethics and morality because these people were brought in by Gaydar and it was under him, both a month before the Congress and later, that they stated repeatedly: "We will all go if..." But their posts proved more precious to them and their self-confidence indestructible.

Realistic Tasks and Assessments

In my view, the new government and president should also learn some lessons from Yegor Gaydar's resignation. The first such lesson is that you should not set yourself impossible or even fantastic tasks. A deficit-free budget was impossible to achieve given the vast military-industrial complex and the weak social sphere that we have. Why?

Even if military production ceased completely, millions of people would be left unemployed and would have to be given unemployment pay. That comes from the budget too. Such is the harsh economic logic. The social sphere led a miserable existence before, it was free so far as specific people were concerned but not so far as society was concerned. The resources for it came from the budget. It cannot all suddenly become a paid system. (And should it be? But that is another question.)

So these two blocks of expenditure cannot be removed from the budget at the moment. It takes two or three years to achieve an optimum state of budget expenditure. However, Gaydar's team decided to turn everything upside down at once. As a result science, culture, education, and health care were reduced to poverty.

Only realistic tasks must be set. Viktor Chernomyrdin, it seems to me, is distinguished from his predecessors by his realism. I also see a positive factor in the arrival of Boris Fedorov in the government. He is a talented man and a top-class professional. An interesting link has been forged: between Fedorov and Gerashchenko. There may be both fruitful cooperation and dialogue between them. To achieve financial stabilization they can do what Gaydar failed to do.

The second lesson, clearly, is that the government cannot work successfully without a powerful economic council, a think tank including the country's leading economists. Gaydar invited quite a few foreign advisers to help him but their level left something to be desired. Perhaps because the invitations were made on the basis of personal ties. Selection should have been made on a competitive basis. A specific task should have been outlined and the candidates could have been asked to suggest solutions. Competitive principles are also a good way to form an economic council consisting of our country's experts. Such a council under the president should operate permanently, devise tactics and strategy, and analyze situations. For example, in the past a decision was made to introduce value-added tax at 28 percent without consulting with the specialists. However, the negative consequences of this payment for production were immediately obvious to them.

Unfortunately, in our country in the transitional stage people often resort to methods used in the West to "heal" an ailing market economy. But our task is different: It is to switch from a nonmarket economy to a market economy. We have specific problems of our own. A supermonopolized economy, for instance. It is not easy to destroy that. Okay, you can scrap the Aeroflot or Intourist monopoly by organizational measures. But what about the monopoly of a metallurgical combine or a major weaving combine? This can be achieved only by encouraging competitors, that is, by investment policy. But the investment fund in our country has been halved. What can you do here? Competition from outside will not help in the fight against the monopolies since at the present legalized market rate for the dollar everything Russian is competitive already. True, the quality is three times worse, but on the other hand it is ten times cheaper! These are the most complex tasks.

Viktor Chernomyrdin's government has inherited two major "time bombs" from the old cabinet of ministers. They are the liberalization of prices for oil and grain. Yegor Gaydar decided not to give Russians these "gifts." But there is no way of avoiding this step. Either we release prices or we give preferential credits. There is no third way. The whole monetary system, the inflow of hard currency, the food market, and production depend on prices for oil and grain. This is a most complex knot of problems and we must unravel it together in a considered way. The people in ministerial posts have little time for considered steps, which is where this council should help them.

Our Institute Is Ready To Cooperate With the Government

Last year our Institute of Market Problems, like all the other scientific economic institutes, was left in the shadows. The government did not need us. Our constructive criticism was not accepted, it was ignored. But people engage in science even when there is no demand for it. Although we would be wrong to complain of a lack of demand. Enterprises, organizations, associations, commodity markets, and banks turned to us. We were commissioned by the Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, the Association of Commodity Producers, and commissions of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet to prepare reports giving our view of problems and recommendations. There was close contact last year with economic centers in Italy, America, France, and Japan. The state budget funds only our basic research. We are actively switching to a contractual system of relations with clients. This too is an objective indicator of our effectiveness. Only demand for analytical work and for our recommendations can give an idea of our significance and worth. The institute, in my view, has good potential for cooperation with the government in the interests of forming a market economy.

New Routes Opened Up to Foreign Aircraft

PM1201144793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Jan 93 First Edition p 8

[Unattributed untitled report]

[Text] A Russian Federation Government directive has permitted the Russian Ministry of Transport to open up new international air routes to foreign aircraft.

New air corridors have been opened in the region of Sochi (Adler), Lazo, Malka-Ust-Bolsheretsk, Malka-Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy (Yelizovo), Takhtoyamsk, Nikolskoye, Okha, and Magadan (Sokol). At the same time, seven previously operated sectors have been shut down.

Information Minister on Media Freedom, Responsibilities

PM1301103193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 10 Jan 93 p 2

[Interview with Mikhail Fedotov, Russian press and information minister, by [illegible]. Vaynonen, place and date not given: "Fedotov: We Shall Not Yield One Inch of Freedom!"]

[Text] [Vaynonen] In the advance notice of this interview (see ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI no. 2 for 1993) you jokingly called yourself minister of depression [play on words: Russian pechal instead of pechat—the press]. In the photo, however, you were smiling happily.

[Fedotov] Times are hard for the press. If a man has to choose between a loaf and a newspaper he will choose the loaf. But there is a reassuring aspect to the fact that subscriptions are down by a half: This is natural selection at work. Conventionalism and the deadwood are gone forever, I hope. At the same time, without the regulating influence of the state natural selection here could destroy a most valuable section of the press which constitutes a national cultural asset. Even political newspapers cannot survive without support.

[Vaynonen] But will the state not be tempted to make political demands on editorial offices in exchange for that support?

[Fedotov] I can speak on behalf of my ministry: I am not going to create a system in which the press receives favored treatment. There must be absolute clarity here from the very beginning: The ministry must not be a political agency committed to one particular party. There will be no return to the CPSU Central Committee Ideology Department or anything like it. No way! That principle was strictly observed by Mikhail Poltoranin's ministry, too. It is a great pity that one has to emphasize so energetically something which is the norm throughout the world. Imagine, for example, that the Social Democrats came to power in Germany and immediately exempted social democratic publications from taxation—the Socialists would immediately be thrown out of parliament! The logic of party political commitment leads nowhere. If you follow it you would be forced to recognize (as an interlocutor of mine who thinks in the old ways did in a judicial session recently) that if a new party comes to power after elections it must immediately change the Constitution. That is obvious nonsense.

[Vaynonen] It is not all that obvious: There are supporters of it.

[Fedotov] Well, I shall explain. The organs of executive power must fulfill the law—is that obvious? The law must be politically neutral—is that obvious, too? A policy which stands above the law ends up outside it, in other words, it becomes criminal. That being so, the state organs required to fulfill the law must be politically neutral.

[Vaynonen] For the press minister that is surely quite difficult.

[Fedotov] There is a story going around that Fedotov was made the minister because he is a member of "Democratic Russia." I am a member of the Union of Journalists and the Union of Cultural Workers, that is all. The present government, like the previous one, was not formed by any one party or coalition of parties, people work in it as individuals and as professionals responsible for their work and results. This is a government of professionals, not of party politicians. I simply would not join a party-based government.

[Vaynonen] Are you sure that you will manage to avoid showing preference, at least when allocating subsidies to editorial offices?

[Fedotov] It is not a question of showing preference. Press subsidies (which run to billions of rubles) are enshrined in the president's budget message for 1993, naturally, without specifying where they are to go. Only the total amount is specified. How is it to be distributed? Sharing it equally among all the editorial offices, which in fact do not have equal positions, is unfair, and the amount that they would receive would be negligible and could not rescue anyone. Another option is that some agency should draw up a list and allocate the money itself. But then there is the danger that this agency will not be objective or representative, that it would be susceptible to lobbying, and so forth. From lobbying it is but one short step to corruption. Fundamentally different methods are needed. It is possible, for example, to allocate money not to editorial offices but to the Ministry of Communications, to papermakers, and to printers, saying to them: Here is a subsidy, cut your prices. These are subsidized prices, as they are known. But the familiar danger of leveling exists here, too, since the result is that the commercial press benefits from this along with the noncommercial press. There is another idea, which I call the councilization [sovetizatsiya] of the Ministry of the Press. It comes from the word council. They are setting up an editorial council, a publishers' council, a printers' council, maybe others, just think. Editors meet....

[Vaynonen] And come to blows. How can we share out the cake without coming to blows?

[Fedotov] The issue must be not one of sharing out but of the principles and mechanism of that share out. If everyone agrees on that and adopts common decisions, the responsibility will also be common and people's complaints can only be against themselves. Such a council is not a battlefield but, on the contrary, the only means of avoiding battles.

[Vaynonen] What changes would you like to make to the work of the Ministry of the Press?

[Fedotov] If you are talking about the basic principles of work, the answer is none. The situation requires a change of emphasis and priorities: It must be first and foremost a ministry providing protection. Legal, economic, and organizational protection. Not just for journalists and publications as such but protection of freedom of the press, the constitutional right of citizens to information and, consequently, of the corresponding professional rights of workers in the press, television, radio, and newspaper and book publishing houses. Sloganizing is not fashionable but for clarity's sake it is convenient: We will not yield a single inch of press freedom and will not allow anyone to abuse that freedom. In the TV program

"Unretouched" recently I was asked what is more important to me as a democratically minded minister—a marked tolerance toward the opposition press or the use of rigorous sanctions regarding specific publications. But that is entirely the wrong way to put the question! It is not a question of either/or. Tolerance toward the opposition press does not mean tolerating the violation of the law. If your newspaper publishes an advertisement for a brothel or propagates war or ethnic strife, do you think that this makes you the opposition press? Nothing of the kind! You are simply breaking the Criminal Code. In that case the Ministry of the Press has the right and is obliged to go to court, and if the court agrees with the ministry it rules against the editorial office; but if it agrees with the editorial office it rules against the ministry. The two sides are in an equal position here. Dissent is not a breach of the law. I show tolerance toward all mass media which do not break the law. But I show no tolerance to anyone who breaks the law. That applies both to individual citizens and to the power structures.

[Vaynonen] But what if the Law on the Press is violated by, for example, the Federal Information Center recently set up by presidential edict?

[Fedotov] That is hardly possible, but if in the activity of the center or indeed any state organ facts occur which suggest that the freedom of the press is being infringed or which contravene legislation on the mass media in general, the Ministry of the Press will take the corresponding measures in full accordance with the law and the statute on the ministry. Including against the president, too. An appeal to the Constitutional Court is also possible. We, incidentally, are already considering such an appeal regarding the practice of the courts themselves, unfortunately, which often fine newspapers large amounts in breach of the Law on the Press. It stipulates that an editorial office bears no responsibility for disseminating unreliable and defamatory information if it received that information from a news agency, an official, and so forth. But it is precisely in those circumstances that journalists are most often criticized. And the courts, strange as it may seem, not only accept but also often find in favor of those complaints. In my view, this practice is entirely unconstitutional.

[Vaynonen] Journalists are worried, wondering whether it is not time to defend the Law on the Press itself. After all, in parliament there are constant discussions in which people say that it should be "amended somewhat."

[Fedotov] I am categorically opposed to that. The Law on the Mass Media, like any juridically competent legal act, is a precise clockwork mechanism with a finely adjusted balance. Touch one small cog and everything falls apart. Unfortunately, a considerable number of deputies do not have the skill that legislators need. There is a strange phenomenon here, which could be called the privatization of the law, in which a deputy is sure that everything he writes into a law becomes a right. But that is wrong. Only justice embodied in the law becomes a right. An injustice embodied in a law becomes an absence of rights. Many laws are being adopted, and in the haste to do this it is not always possible to ensure their high quality—and I very much hope that the Constitutional Court will soon finally tackle this most serious problem.

[Vaynonen] In that TV program "Unretouched," you said that ours is the only country in the world which has parliamentary and government newspapers. In that broadcast I represented the government newspaper. But lack of time prevented you from raising objections. Many people are indeed worried that in various state and social structures "organs" have appeared which are similar to the publications of the "leading and guiding" [party]. But if you read ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI you will surely not claim that there are "assistants," as Communist Party journalists used to be called, sitting in our editorial office! It is one thing to be an obedient and guiding [poslushno-direktivnyy] "organ," quite another to be a newspaper which objectively informs society about the work of the government and comments on that work equally objectively. The government itself is interested in feedback, in objective criticism, and in information on the public's opinion of it. There are newspapers like that everywhere—whatever their official name.

[Fedotov] I had something else in mind: The degree of risk that the information rights of citizens will be violated is always higher in an official publication. Although censorship is banned, the selection of information exists and is even intensifying. That is obvious. This must be resisted by all possible means! The Law on the Mass Media provides an opportunity to do that by envisaging special procedures which ensure that journalists receive information and that the professional independence of editorial offices is protected, including from encroachments by founders. That is why, when I meet with journalists, I never tire of repeating: Learn how to use your rights! Read, observe, and implement the law!

'Kosmos-2230' Satellite To Monitor Ships, Fishing Fleets

LD1301112193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1106 GMT 13 Jan 93

[ITAR-TASS]

[Text] Moscow January 13 TASS—"Kosmos-2230", a new artifical satellite of earth was launched on January 12, 1993 with the help of "Kosmos" carrier-rocket from the Plesetsk space-vehicle launching site.

The sputnik is meant to work as a part of the space navigational system "Cicada", created with the aim of securing the whereabouts of ships and fishing fleets in any part of the world.

The sputnik has been put into orbit with following parametres:

initial orbital period—105 minutes;

maximum distance from earth's surface (apogee)—1020 kilometres;
minium distance from earth's surface (perigee)—988 kilometres;
inclination of the orbit—83 degrees.

All apparatus on board the sputnik are functioning normally.

The coordination-computer centre is processing incoming data.

Journalists Search for 'Secret Underground City'

LD1201203393 Moscow Radio Moscow in Polish 1600 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] In recent times, people have started talking out loud about the clandestine system of underground communications underneath the routes and streets of Moscow. In the past, this was a forbidden topic. Someone, somewhere might have (?alluded) to these numerous labyrinths, entrances, and even an entire underground city. Journalists from the Ostankino television station [words indistinct] (?prepartions to gain access) in the vicinity of the Great Theater.

The journalists were accompanied by members of the so-called Underground Moscow group of independent researchers. For several years now, these people have been concerned with examining what is underneath the capital. The first thing that the journalists and people accompanying them came across was the (?site) of a narrow- gauge railway built in a great, reinforced concrete pipe, one half submerged in water. It must be said that recently, very many groups of searchers for [word indistinct] have appeared. They usually choose the method of free search. In this case, everything that is found on the way is examined: wells, cellars, communications. Everyone is aiming toward one goal, toward finding places where human feet have not stood for at least 500 years. However, the object of greatest interest for these researchers are not the historical underground installations but the newest ones. Above all, the focus is the secret underground city built underneath Moscow. The Western press was the first to provide information on this, citing people who did not wish to reveal their names. Russian journalists set (?a task for themselves) to see this underground city and show it in their programs. For the time being, officially, such a trip is not possible. On this journey, the journalists were accompanied by the Moscow writer Vladimir Gonich. This 49-year-old man suggests that he has for 20 years been studying new underground Moscow communications. He is the author of the novel "Hell," which was published recently. The action of the novel takes place in an underground government city.

[Begin Gonich recording, in Russian, with superimposed Polish translation] I came down underground here for the first time a few years ago, when no human feet had stood in this place. I described that place in my novel "Hell." The underground city built beneath Moscow has its own subway line. It has all things necessary for the assurance of an independent life for (?five or several) thousand people over (?30) years. [end recording]

[Passage indistinct] Gonich said that the city was intended for the protection of the Soviet Government and members of their families, friends and [words indistinct] in case of a nuclear threat.

Vladimir Gonich refused to indicate to television journalists the way to the underground-bunker city. He said that without a special pass, it is possible to meet unexpected hinderances, and a tragic finale to such a journey is not precluded. [passage indistinct] In face of this, the Russian journalists did not this time succeed in getting to the secret underground city. Nonetheless, they are still full of optimism, and next time, they intend to renew their attempt.

Supreme Soviet

Sixth Supreme Soviet Session Opens

LD1301112993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1035 GMT 13 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 13 Jan—The first sitting of the sixth session of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet opened here today. It is proceeding separately in chambers, the press center of the Russian Supreme Soviet reports.

At the morning sitting the Soviet of the Republic began electing a chamber chairman. The sitting of the Soviet of Nationalities adopted a decision to examine the question of the Russian Federal Information Center, recently created by presidential decree. A proposal to place this item on the agenda was made by Deputy Viktor Yugin, and it was supported by Deputy Vitaliy Sevastyanov and other colleagues. The deputies' arguments boiled down to this: with the creation of the Federal Information Center, the presidential and executive structures are gaining a certain advantage over parliament in interaction with the mass media.

Committees, Commissions Meet

LD1201142593

[Editorial Report] Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian at 1100 GMT on 12 January broadcasts a 2.5 minute report by parliamentary correspondent Nikolay Artemyev from Russia's White House, where the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet is in session after the Christmas recess.

The correspondent begins by noting that a presidium session was held yesterday evening, and committees and commissions are working today. The Commission for

Social Policy is examining draft laws on amendments to the state pension law and on the pension fund budget, he adds.

The correspondent goes on: "The Legislation Committee is drawing up a draft Supreme Soviet resolution on implementing the program of privization of state and municipal enterprises. The Committee for Social Development of the Countryside, Agrarian Issues, and Food is working on the Russian President's draft budget message for 1993.

"The Constitutional Commission is in session today, and its members are coordinating the main provisions of the new constitution to be put forward in the 11th April referendum," he says, adding that parliamentary hearings on the problem of Crimea in Russian-Ukrainian relations are scheduled for this evening in the Committees for Inter-Republican Relations and for International Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations and separate sittings of the parliamentary chambers are to be held tomorrow.

The correspondent concludes his report by noting that the Soviet of the Republic is to elect its chairman following Nikolay Ryabov's election as deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet.

Chamber of Republic Fails To Elect Speaker

LD1301132293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1240 GMT 13 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Maria Kuzmenkova]

[Text] Moscow January 13 TASS—The Chamber of the Republic failed on Wednesday to elect its speaker who is to replace Nikolay Ryabov appointed deputy speaker of the Russian Parliament.

Seven candidates were nominated for the post, but two of them remained after a rating vote. Those were Veniyamin Sokolov, member of the Parliamentary Commission on Budget, Plans, Taxes and Prices, and Mikhail Zakharov, chairman of the Social Policy Commission.

Neither of the two won the necessary majority of votes. Sokolov received 41.6 per cent of voted, while Zakharov—16 per cent.

New elections will be held next week as there was no quorum in the chamber after the vote.

Presidium Adopts Decision on Economists' Roundtable

LD1201231893 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 2230 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Text] By agreement with the government, the presidium of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet has adopted a decision on setting up a roundtable to work out recommendations for a program of anti-crisis measures and development of reforms. It is planned to include the candidacies of Gaydar, Yavlinskiy, Volskiy, Saburov, Abalkin, Bunich, Petrakov, Aganbegyan, and other leading economists in its composition. However, at Ruslan Khasbulatov's proposal, a decision on approving this composition of the roundtable was postponed for two days. The head of the Russian parliament expressed critical remarks in connection with the fact that the candidacies of leaders of various political parties and associations have not been included in the roundtable composition.

Committee Approves Draft Agrarian Reform Program

OW1201214593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1945 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Tuesday [12 January] the Committee of the Russian Supreme Soviet on agrarian issues considered and approved the draft program on the agrarian reform and the development of the Russian agrarian-industrial complex until 1995. After a revision the draft will be submitted to the government.

Earlier the draft program developed by a working group headed by Vitaliy Yermolenko, the director of the Russian Federal Center of the land and agrarian-industrial reform, was in general approved by the Agriculture and Food Industry Ministry of Russia.

Yermolenko declared to INTERFAX that the program contains measures to halt the recession of the agricultural production, to stabilize the agrarian production, and to draw it out of the crisis. The next stage of the program should ensure a stable growth of production.

According to Yermolenko, in comparison with 1985-1990 the gross agrarian production must be increased b 10-15% by 1995, and by 20-30% by the year of 200. Simultaneously the program foresees a substantial reduction of losses of the agricultural products during their production, storage, and processing.

Vitaliy Yermolenko is convinced that these numbers are quite real if "the necessary but not the residual principles of the agricultural complex financing is preserved in the process of the program realization."

Khasbulatov Receives Chilean Parliamentary Group

LD1201143993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1244 GMT 12 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Maria Kuzmenkova]

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—Speaker of the Russian parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov received a Chilean parliamentary delegation in the Russian White House here today. Chairman of the House of Deputies of the Chilean National Congress Jose Antonio Viera Gallo,

leader of the delegation, expressed in his opening statement his appreciation of democratic reforms in Russia and said his respects to Khasbulatov personally. He said the purpose of the visit, as he saw it, was to find new ways to deepen bilateral relations both in the political and economic domains.

Asked by Chilean colleagues about the new Russian constitution, Khasbulatov noted that the present constitution, which was subjected to more than 300 amendments over the past two years or so, was "sufficiently liberal and democratic." Therefore, in his opinion, a new basic charter was not needed. In his opinion, it is necessary to learn to observe the existing democratic principles. Nevertheless, public opinion is now ripe, he said, to adopt a new constitution and everything possible should be done to perpetuate Russia's integrity. "I have serious fears that a new wave of disintegration may be triggered by the adoption of a new constitution," the speaker said. He recalled that the Russian parliament was at one time able to eliminate the danger of Russia's disintegration by the timely adoption of a federal treaty, which is now part and parcel of the constitution in force.

Vietnamese Leaders Welcome Supreme Soviet Delegation

LD0901202293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1940 GMT 9 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Denisovich]

[Text] Hanoi January 9 TASS—Chairman of the National Assembly of Vietnam Nong Duc Manh on Saturday received a visiting delegation of the Russian Supreme Soviet, led by S. Stepashin, chairman of the Committee for Defence and Security.

The Russian parliamentarians arrived here to discuss ways of expanding and invigorating cooperation between the two countries' legislators.

Welcoming the guests, Nong Duc Manh emphasised that many economic facilities, earlier built in Vietnam with Soviet assistance and, mainly Russia, have a favourable impact on the country's social and economic life. This, he noted, helps strengthen relations of friendship and cooperation between the two states.

The head of the Russian delegation expressed the hope that interaction between the Russian Supreme Soviet and Vietnam's National Assembly will further develop and serve as a basis for expanding social, economic and cultural ties between the two countries. Stepashin invited Nong Duc Manh to visit the Russian Federation, on behalf of the Chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet Ruslan Khasbulatov.

Later in the day the delegation was received by Deputy Prime Minister Tran Duc Luong who noted during the conversation that the Vietnamese and Russian peoples are tied by relations of friendship and solidarity of long standing.

Law on Admitting Chairman to Security Council Published

PM1201160393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Jan 93 First Edition p 5

["Russian Federation Law on Supplementing Article 14 of the Russian Federation Law 'On Security,'" signed by Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin and dated Moscow, Russian House of Soviets, 25 December 1992, No. 4235-1; followed by "Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Decree on the Procedure for Enacting the Russian Federation Law 'On Security,'" signed by Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Chairman R.I. Khasbulatov and dated Moscow, Russian House of Soviets, 25 December 1992, No. 4236-1]

[Text] Article 14 of the Russian Federation Law "On Security" (Russian Federation Congress of Peoples Deputies and Russian Federation Supreme Soviet 1992 Registers No. 15, Article 770) is to be supplemented with a new seventh section containing the following:

"The chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet or, on his instruction, the deputy chairman, participates in sessions of the Security Council."

The seventh and eighth sections of Article 14 of the indicated law are to be counted as the eighth and ninth respectively.

[Signed] Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin,
Moscow,
Russian House of Soviets
25 December 1992
No. 4235-1

For the purposes of legislatively strengthening and supporting the widening practice of working collaboration between the representative and executive organs of power in resolving questions of ensuring the security of the individual, society, and the state, the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet decrees:

The Russian Federation Law "On Supplementing Article 14 of the Russian Federation Law 'On Security'" is to come into force from the moment of its signing.

[Signed] Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Chairman
R.I. Khasbulatov
Moscow
Russian House of Soviets
25 December 1992
No. 4236-1

Regional Affairs

Ingush Administration Appeals to Yeltsin for Elections

OW1101142793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1142 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The situation in Ingushetia shows no signs of improvement, says the Ingush administration's appeal to the Russian president and to the chairman of the Russian parliament.

The Ingush leaders also asked the Russian leaders for permission to hold elections for the head of the administration. In the opinion of the acting head of the Ingush administration, Magomed Sultygov, who signed the appeal, this will help ease tensions in the republic.

The appeal was issued following the speech in Nazran by Ruslan Aushev, the previous acting head of the Ingush administration, who had resigned on December 19. A popular Inghush leader, Aushev expressed readiness to assume the leadership if he is elected during national elections.

Elections To Maintain Stability

OW1201175893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1537 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The new acting chief of Ingushetia's administration, Magomed Sultygov, has urged Russia's president to allow elections for republican administration chairman as an exception. He emphasized in an interview with INTERFAX that elections were planned only for the sake of further stability in Ingushetia. In his view, elections will unite the people of Ingushetia and render a fight for power impossible.

"I have informed the head of the interim administration in North Ossetia and Ingushetia, Aleksandr Kotenkov, about that (appeal to Yeltsin - INTERFAX), however, his response has been without special approval, Mr. Sultygov said.

An INTERFAX correspondent reports from Nazran - Ingushetia's administrative center - that republican work teams are ready to hold early meetings in a run-up for elections of republican administration chief.

Meanwhile, the head of the TV and radio company in Ingushetia, Bashir Chakhkyev, in an interview with INTERFAX on Tuesday, refuted reports about the shelling of the TV center in Nazran by unidentified gunmen. In Mr. Chakhkyev's opinion, such misinformation was spread to destabilize the situation in the zone of conflict.

Chechen Parliament, Government Confirm Independence Goal

OW1201214693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1946 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The parliament and government of Chechnya reconfirmed their course to achieve the republic's independence. The statement of the Chechen authorities distributed in Groznyy simultaneously refutes the information of an official Chechen representative which appeared in the Russian mass media stating that Chechnya is allegedly ready to sign an agreement with Russia refusing from the sovereignty and independence of the republic.

"Any treaties and agreements concluded with other states including Russia can have a legal force only in case they are conducted and signed by the official representatives of Chechnya who have special authorities granted to them by the parliament and the president," the statement points out.

The parliament and government of Chechnya underlined that any threats or usage of force against the republic "cannot turn away the Chechen people from the way of independence and sovereignty."

North Caucasian Military District To Ensure Stability

LD1201145793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1445 GMT 12 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz January 12 TASS—The North-Caucasian District of the Russian Interior Ministry troops, which is being formed, must lend stability to the region, Aleksandr Kotenkov, head of the temporary administration of North Ossetia and Ingushetia, said addressing a session of the North-Ossetian Supreme Soviet.

This measure will provide an opportunity to react promptly to the situation and douse local flashpoints of armed confrontation. Kotenkov proposed extending the state of emergency to another two months as a variant of stabilising the situation.

The temporary administration has been operating on the territory of the two republics for two months and the state of emergency has been in effect for three months. Three commandant's offices were set up—in Vladikavkaz, Prigorodniy District and Nazran. The emergency regulations enable law enforcement agencies to seize weapons from the population, inspect motor vehicles and spot locations where illegal armed groups are concentrated.

On Russian troops' role in the region, Kotenkov said they are in field conditions in ingushetia blocking the Nazran-Groznyy road. In North Ossetia the state of emergency is maintained basically by Russian Interior Ministry forces and the Ossetian police.

Forecasting a further situation in the conflict-torn area, Kotenkov emphasised that the emergency regulations in Prigorodniy District will be tightened. Military commandant's offices are being set up in Prigorodniy and

Nazran Districts. In addition, a brigade of Russian Interior Ministry troops will be deployed in Prigorodniy and Nazran Districts.

St. Petersburg, Tatarstan To Cooperate in Oil Exports

OW1201223293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1947 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] St. Petersburg is ready to render assistance to Tatarstan in the export of its oil through seaports of the city. This is one aspect of the cooperation the two sides discussed in Petersburg at negotiations between a representative of the city soviet, Aleksandr Belyayev, and the vice-president of the republic of Tatarstan, Vasiliy Likhachev.

In its turn Tatarstan, as an INTERFAX correspondent learnt, is likely to participate in the reconstruction and building of port facilities in Petersburg and surrounding regions. Apart from this, part of the raw materials for export will probably remain in Petersburg.

During the negotiations other areas of interaction for the preparation of a general agreement on cooperation between Petersburg and the Republic of Tatarstan were considered.

According to Aleksandr Belyayev the general agreement on cooperation between Petersburg and Tatarstan can be prepared and signed within a month.

Chuvashia Bans Destruction of Chemical Weapons

PM1301100793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Jan 93 p 4

[Oleg Bedula report: "Chuvashia Decides Not To Destroy Chemical Weapons, Udmurtia Looking for Alternative"]

[Text] E. Kubarev, chairman of the Chuvash Supreme Soviet, has signed a decree banning the destruction of chemical weapons on Chuvash territory or the siting of facilities for their destruction.

A session of the Udmurt Republic's Kambarskiy Rayon Soviet has expressed its attitude to the chemical weapons destruction program. The deputies decided to return to this issue after working out alternative technological solutions and adopting normative acts to provide a state guarantee. The session appealed to the committee on the treaty problems of biological and chemical weapons to postpone the destruction of these deadly munitions.

Omsk Poll Shows Support for Yeltsin, Referendum

MK1201152093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Jan 93 p 2

[POSTFACTUM report under "Facts, Events, People" rubric: "Omsk Inhabitants Support President"]

[Text] Omsk Oblast Soviet Sociological Center has held a snap poll of Omsk's population on the following question: "To whom do you entrust the country's extrication from the economic and political crisis and the Russian Federation's revival?" According to the poll's results, 43 percent of the city's inhabitants supported the president's idea of a referendum, 22 percent were against, and 29 percent found it hard to say.

Seventeen percent of respondents are prepared to support the Congress and the Supreme Soviet, 34 percent are prepared to support the president, 12 percent are not prepared to support anyone, and 12 percent are prepared to support someone else. Twenty-three percent did not know.

Buryat Supreme Soviet Declares 'Negedel' Assembly Illegal

LD1301100193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0910 GMT 13 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS corresondent Sergey Trofimov]

[Text] Ulan-Ude January 13 TASS—An assembly held late last year in Ulan-Ude and declared by its organizers, activists of the "Negedel" (Unity) Movement, as representing the entire Buryatia people, illegally passed decisions, the Supreme Soviet of Buryatia declared today. The soviet is composed of leaders of administrations and people's deputies from district councils of Ust-Ordynskiy and Aginskoye Buryatia districts and from Irkutsk and Chita regions. They based their arguments on public opinion polls and said that open elections of deputies to the congress were not held in their regions. Supporters of the movement and imposter-deputies took part in it.

Participants of the representative meeting discussed a wide range of questions on consolidating efforts for the re-birth of culture and the widening of ties. A draft document to rehabilitate the Buryatian people was developed, and will be examined at the next session of the Buryatian Parliament and the people's deputies of national regions. It was recognized that acts of Stalinist rule turned out to have a negative influence on the development of the Buryatian people and their sovereignty. Nor is this the suitable time for politicial games or re-examining established territorial borders.

Nemtsov Critical of Yeltsin Budget Proposal

934C0665A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Jan 93 p 1

[Statement by B. Nemtsov, governor of Nizhniy Novgorod Oblast: "We Will Live More Poorly"]

[Text] On 25 December 1992, the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation took the president's budget message as a basis, it is said in the text of a statement submitted to Valeriy Orlov, PRAVDA's Nizhniy Novgorod correspondent. This fact went almost unnoticed by the press. A pity. The life of Russia for the next year of 1993 is practically predetermined. Now, after the adoption of this decision, it can be said with confidence that life will become much worse. Not for everyone, of course. For the majority. It will be better for the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation—it itself increased its allocations by 200 percent. Expenditures for the government of the Russian Federation were increased by 7.3 billion rubles [R], and expenditures were also increased for the president's staff by R2.1 billion.

It will be worse for the provinces; that is, for all of Russia. After the president proclaimed his thesis that the center of gravity of the reforms is shifting to the regions, the huge apparatus of the government began to fill it with specific content. The financing of the largest federal programs has been transferred to the shoulders of the regions: capital investments in the villages, subsidies for animal husbandry products, the maintenance of the vocational training schools, the rural social sphere, passenger transportation, notary offices, technical schools, agricultural institutes, etc.

Splendid. We agree. But then it will be necessary to increase the income part of the local budgets. And the government, together with the Supreme Soviet, is increasing it all the way to 0.7 percent. At the same time, even at the lowered estimates of the government, the expenditures of the local budgets will increase by 2.5 percent, but in fact, of course, by significantly more. But even these figures show that shifting the center of gravity of the reforms to the regions means that the local authorities have to pay for all of the miscalculations of the higher leadership.

The president's idea has been completely discredited. This miserly arithmetic denotes the following: There will be a massive closing of kindergartens, schools, and technical schools. The wages of doctors and teachers will be chronically behind the increase in prices, and breakdowns will begin in transportation. Pensioners—the least protected part of the population—will find themselves on the brink of dying out, and the local authorities will have nothing with which to help them.

Let us turn, for example, to Nizhniy Novgorod Oblast. While in 1991, from R100 in taxes, R49.5 were left, in 1992, it is already R39.92, and, according to the budget message, only R36.6 will remain in 1993. In other words, methodically, despite all declarations, Moscow is taking more and more money annually.

The deficit of the oblast budget for 1993, according to the most modest calculations, will be about R30 billion.

How is all of this done technically? In 54 oblasts, krays, and republics, 50 percent of the value-added tax will remain in the localities, and in 18 of the strongest oblasts, where energetically working people are in authority, it is proposed to leave five percent of the value-added tax. Moscow, Moscow Oblast, Yekaterinburg, Nizhniy Novgorod, Samara, Vladimir, and others have become the victims.

Sakha Republic Regulates Foreign Investment, Joint Ventures

PM1201143593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jan 93 Morning Edition p 1

[RIA report: "Law on Foreign Investment Passed in Yakutia"]

[Text] Under the law both joint ventures and enterprises owned by foreign investors will be allowed to operate in the Sakha Republic (Yakutia). They are guaranteed a national regime—that is, they will have equal access to the republic's foreign exchange and securities markets and will be entitled to acquire shares and take part in the privatization of state and municipally owned enterprises. The new law envisages a system of measures to protect Yakutia's interests and to provide controls over foreign investors' activities.

International Affairs

Polish Prime Minister Meets With Premier Kuchma

LD1201131593 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1100 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Text] Polish Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka arrived in Kiev today on a two-day working visit. First on the program was a visit with Leonid Kuchma, head of the Ukrainian Government. In the course of a friendly and interesting discussion the sides ascertained the stable and mutually beneficial character of economic and other relations between Ukraine and Poland which can be explained to a considerable extent by traditional good neighborliness.

Leonid Kuchma and Hanna Suchocka discussed a wide range of issues connected with the future deepening of bilateral cooperation in various sectors of the economy. Today Hanna Suchocka is to meet with Ivan Plyushch, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Council, and also with leaders of various political parties active in our state and with Ukrainian businessmen. The dignified guest also requested to visit the Kiev Mohylansk Academy.

Cooperation Issues Discussed

LD1201171693 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Text] A wide range of issues concerning further prospects for developing Ukrainian-Polish cooperation was discussed during the meeting of Ukraine Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma and Polish Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka in Kiev on 12 January. At the end of the private meeting, which lasted more than an hour, Leonid Kuchma told journalists that the Ukrainian side regards relations with Poland not simply as friendly and good-neighborly [as heard]. Leonid Kuchma emphasized that during the private talks, they discussed political, economic, historical, scientific, and cultural issues which concern cooperation between the two countries.

Roundup on Talk Results

LD1201194193 Kiev Ukrayinske Telebachennya Television Network in Ukrainian 1700 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Text] [Announcer] Hanna Suchocka, prime minister of the Republic of Poland, arrived in Kiev on a working visit today. Here is the chronicle of her stay in the Ukrainian capital:

[Correspondent] The private meeting between Ukraine Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma and Hanna Suchocka lasted more than one and a half hours, three times longer than expected. As one of the Kiev newspapers wrote on the eve of the meeting, the guest knows what economic shock is. For ourselves we will add that she also knows what therapy is. These issues are of vital importance to us.

Having continued the dialogue in the presence of the two delegations, the prime ministers listened to reports on the preceding exchange of opinions of their plenipotentiary representatives, and then made important statements.

Leonid Kuchma, like a real gentleman, started by congratulating Hanna Suchocka on being recognized as woman of the year in Poland. He then stressed that Poland is a strategic partner for us in the world. We discussed a wide range of issues, and reached full mutual understanding on all of them, Leonid Kuchma said. In particular, the setting up of a Ukrainian-Polish financial bank is envisaged, and also a separate information bank, which is important for the cooperation of entrepreneurs, for the intensification of border exchanges, the activity of joint enterprises, and so on.

Hanna Suchocka stressed that Poland is interested in the economic and political stabilization of Ukraine, to which the government of Leonid Kuchma is directing its efforts, a government of reforms, as she said.

It is planned to sign a package of economic and legal bilateral documents between Ukraine and the Republic of Poland in the evening.

During the meeting of the Polish government delegation with Ukrainian parliamentarians, which took place at the Supreme Council, main attention was paid to cooperation between legislative and executive authorities in the process of implementing economic reforms. Ivan Plyushch, chairman of the Supreme Council of Ukraine, touching on this issue, emphasized that the Ukrainian Parliament has consciously delegated additional powers to the government, leaving control functions for itself. The chairman of the Supreme Council said that our relations with the government are being built at this complicated time on the foundations of specific cooperation and mutual trust.

Hanna Suchocka spoke on the experience of implementing privatization in Poland, and the principles of dividing foreign capital investments to industries.

Issues of cultural cooperation were discussed during the conversation, and problems connected with the consequences of the deportation of Ukrainians in Poland during the course of the [1947] Wisla operation were raised.

[Announcer] Hanna Suchocka met representatives of political parties and associations of Ukraine in the residence set aside for the prime minister of the Republic of Poland during her stay in Kiev. They told her about the political situation in our state, and discussed their vision of the arrangement of public forces. In the (?congress) hall of the Mazepa building of the Kievo-Mogilyanskiy Academy, the prime minister of the Republic of Poland had a conversation with members of the (?supervisory) council of the Academy and representatives of the Kiev intelligentsia.

Agreements Signed

LD1201213093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1800 GMT 12 Jan 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Aleksey Trotsenko for TASS]

[Text] Kiev, 12 Jan—The first working day of the visit to Ukraine by the Polish prime minister ended today with the signing of a package of documents.

Ukrainian Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma and Hanna Suchocka signed an agreement between Ukraine and Poland on the mutual encouragement and defense of investments; a treaty on cooperation in science and technology; a convention on removing the double taxation of incomes and property and also on the prevention of avoidance of taxes; along with agreements on a legal regime for the Ukrainian-Polish state border, and on cooperation and mutual aid in natural sciences.

A protocol on a Ukrainian-Polish joint commission for questions of trade and economic cooperation, and an agreement on cooperation between the education ministries of the two countries were also signed at ministry level.

A joint communique was also signed.

President Kravchuk's Talks in Israel Continue

LD1201224993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2143 GMT 12 Jan 93

[By UKRINFORM-ITAR-TASS correspondents Viktor Demidenko and Aleksandr Zhudro]

[Text] Tel Aviv January 12 TASS—The second day of Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk's official visit to Israel was capped on Tuesday by the signing of a memorandum on mutual understanding and basic principles of cooperation between Ukraine and Israel. The document was signed by the head of the Ukrainian state and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin.

The sides also signed a protocol on consultations between the two countries' foreign ministries, inter-governmental agreements on cooperation in the field of education and culture, agriculture, air service, science and technology. Talks between Kravchuk and Rabin continued on Tuesday. The sides were unanimous in that relations between Ukraine and Israel should be of a long-term nature, be projected into the future and free of time-serving circumstances. Kravchuk noted that relations with Israel are regarded as a priority direction in Ukraine's Middle Eastern policy. The Israeli side, in turn, expressed interest in developing relations with Ukraine.

Evaluating prospects for economic cooperation, the sides proceeded from the premise that Israel could purchase from Ukraine raw material, metallurgical and aerospace industry products, equipment for the development of the mineral resources of the sea bed and development studies in the field of electrical welding and super-hard materials.

For its part, Israel can supply Ukraine with vegetables, citrus, modern farm output processing and storage technologies, medical equipment, computer facilities and consumer goods.

Kravchuk Addresses Knesset

LD1301093193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0754 GMT 13 Jan 93

[By UKRINIFORM-ITAR-TASS correspondents Viktor Demidenko and Aleksandr Zhurdo]

[Text] Tel Aviv January 13 TASS—President Leonid Kravchuk of Ukraine who is now in Israel on an official visit addressed the plenary meeting of the Knesset (parliament).

The Ukrainian people, just as the Jewish people, was for many centuries deprived of the possibility to establish a state of its own, Kravchuk said. But a year ago the 52-million Ukrainian people voted in a referendum to proclaim independence and embarked on the road of its own have made a choice in favour of a free, democratic, law-governed state, for which man its the supreme value, man with his rights and freedoms, honour and dignity.

Israel was one of the first to recognise Ukraine as an independent state and establish diplomatic relations with it on December 26, 1991. We appreciate this step very much, the Ukrainian president stressed.

Kravchuk said that he would not pass in silence the seamy sides of history. It is common knowledge that the Jewish people had suffered very much in Ukraine. "Today we have a chance to review the past and explain to let our descendants avoid a return to the past".

Speaking about the main achievements of the Ukrainian state, the president stressed that one was that Ukraine had succeeded in averting ethnic conflicts, which are ravaging the Dniester area, Tajikistan, Yugoslavia and Nagorno-Karabakh. Ukraine is not part of this "arch of fire", although there are forces outside Ukraine and inside it which would like to see Ukraine drawn into such conflicts.

Ukraine which has gone through the trial of Chernobyl, wants to be free of any nuclear danger. "We are ready to get rid of the nuclear weapons deployed on Ukrainian territory," Kravchuk said.

Touching on the Middle East policy the president noted that Ukraine had resolutely discarded the ideological cliches of the former Soviet Union and once to have equal, balanced relations with all countries in the region, both Israeli and Arab. "The ensuring of peace, stability and security in a Middle East meets the interests of Ukraine," Kravchuk said.

Official Comments on U.S. 'Security Guarantees' Noted

LD1301074193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0731 GMT 13 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Kirilchenko]

[Text] New York January 13 TASS—The United States has given written security guarantees to Ukraine, which will facilitate the ratification of the START-1 treaty by the Ukrainian parliament, Ukrainian Deputy Foreign Minister Borys Tarasyuk said in an interview with CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR. He is representing Ukraine at the arms control talks. According to Tarasyuk, the U.S. written statement was handed to him last week during the talks in Washington.

Without going into detail of the document, Tarasyuk said that the security guarantees set forth in it would most probably be contained in an official declaration of the heads of leading nuclear powers, including Russia. The provisions of the declaration will envisage the prevention of an attack on Ukraine, using both nuclear and conventional armaments, after it fulfills its commitment to get rid of all the 176 strategic nuclear missiles deployed on its territory.

A number of Ukrainian members of parliament are not inclined to support the ratification of the START-1 treaty, fearing that Ukraine will be left defenceless without nuclear weapons, CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR recalls. The U.S. proposals are expected to ease this concern. "I hope this will affect favourably the ratification process in parliament," Tarasyuk stressed.

National Affairs

Rukh Questions 11 Jan NEW YORK TIMES Editorial

LD1301111493 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 2300 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Text] Rukh [Ukrainian People's Movement] Chairman Vyacheslav Chornovil, has expressed indignation at the publication of an editorial in the influential American newspaper the NEW YORK TIMES dated 11 January this year. The editorial proposes that President-elect Bill Clinton should isolate Ukraine and deprive it of economic aid in the event of its further delaying ratification of the START I Treaty. In the opinion of the newspaper's editor, Ukraine's demands to grant it security guarantees and more aid to destroy nuclear weapons are excessive and groundless.

In the words of Vyacheslav Chornovil this article is a manifestation of U.S. imperial forces' attempting open blackmail of Ukraine on the part of those forces. The Rukh leader considers this publication to be proof that these forces are absolutely opposed to a strong independent Ukraine. This force is more interested in preserving the feeble former Soviet republics that are dependent on Russia within the framework of the CIS without their own interests and their own policies, Vyacheslav Chornovil claims.

National Conservative Party 'Ignored' by Kravchuk

LD1201134593 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 2000 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Text] The leadership of the Ukrainian National Conservative Party has adopted an open letter and statement to the president of Ukraine in connection with the absence of representatives of the Ukrainian National Conservative Party during Leonid Kravchuk's 4 January meeting with leaders of political parties and civic and political associations. Obviously with whom he should consult is a matter for the president, especially when it is about the further fate of the state: the signing of the CIS statute, says the statement.

However, at the present time the Ukrainian National Conservative Party is an officially registered party in Ukraine and for us, stresses its leadership, it is incomprehensible why precisely our party was ignored. As the letter notes these are not isolated facts when the present authorities in Ukraine are attempting not to notice and not to take into account the Ukrainian National Conservative Party. Possibly a reason for this is the disparity of opinions and views but if we are building a civil society the authorities are obliged to reckon with it, the statement stresses.

Nationalists Reject Russian Cooperation Accord

AU1201160593 Kiev MOLOD UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 6 Jan 93 p 1

["Statement by the Ukrainian National Assembly in Connection With the Intentions To Sign the CIS Statute and the Russian-Ukrainian Agreement on Good-Neighborly Relations, Cooperation, and Partnership"; issued in Kiev on 1 January]

[Text] The Ukrainian National Assembly fully supports the policy toward full establishment of Ukraine's statehood and its nonparticipation in blocs that have been proclaimed by the president.

Following the decision adopted by Russia's Supreme Council on the illegal aspect of the 1954 act on the transfer of the Crimea to Ukraine and the discussion of the status of Sevastopol at the recent congress of Russia's people's deputies, the Ukrainian National Assembly rejects, in principle, the signing of the CIS statute and the agreement "on good-neighborly relations," until the position on these questions of Russia's supreme legislative organs is changed.

In international practice, diplomatic relations are broken following such statements, and agreements on friendship or joining common blocs are not signed.

Russia needs the signing of the CIS statute and the conclusion of the agreement to continue, using these agreements as cover, interference into Ukraine's internal affairs.

Ukraine should, on the contrary, take advantage of the still-available openness of the Russian leadership to Western influences and try to attract attention to this matter by demonstratively rejecting a possibility for itself not only to sign the CIS statute, but also of the agreement on cooperation and partnership (cooperation and partnership in the case of separation of Crimea and Donbass?).

[Dated] Kiev, 1 January 1993

Parties Oppose Call for Commonwealth Withdrawal

PM1301111593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Jan 93 p 4

[Anatoliy Gordeyev report: "Certain Ukrainian Parties and Movements Opposing Government Course of Self-Isolation for Republic"]

[Text] Representatives of the Civic Congress of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Labor Party, the All-Ukrainian Labor Collectives Council, the Interregional Association of Industrialists, and a number of other parties and movements spoke out against Ukraine's leaving the Commonwealth at a consultative meeting held in Donetsk.

An appeal adopted to soviets at all levels, labor collectives, public organizations, and the republic's citizens stresses that nationalist forces close to the government are insisting that Ukraine leave the CIS. And this step is in preparation despite the fact that the course of self-isolation has already led Ukraine into an impasse.

The meeting participants called on Ukrainian citizens to state their support for the Commonwealth at meetings of labor collectives and social organizations.

Russian Nationalists Hold Anti-Ukrainian Rally

AU1301121993 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 11 Jan 93 p 4

[Oleksandr Pilat report: "Anti-Ukrainian Rally"]

[Text] About 2,000 supporters of Sevastopol branches of the "National Salvation Front," "The Russian Popular Assembly," and the All-Crimean Movement of Voters for the Crimean Republic held an unsanctioned rally at Nakhimov Square. They demanded that prices be reduced and the Ukrainian presidential mission in Sevastopol be disbanded. Then, waving Russian monarchical [St. Andrew] and contemporary flags, they paid a visit to Yermakov, the Ukrainian presidential representative in Sevastopol, who promised that a roundtable discussion involving leaders of the city's parties and movements would be held on 11 January. This somewhat quenched the passions.

Sailors Protest 'Unlawful' Acts of Black Sea Command

WS1201133193 Kiev KHRESHCHATYK in Ukrainian 11 Dec 92 p 3

[Report by an unidentified UKRINFORM correspondent "The Ochakiv Crew Protest"]

[Text] A group of officers, ensigns [michmans], warrant officers [starshynas], and sailors of the large sub-chaser, the Ochakiv, has addressed the Ukrainian president with a request to put an end to the unlawful actions of the Black Sea Command, which sent ships with Ukrainian citizens to the area of military operations in Abkhazia. The sailors consider that this may lead to tragic consequences.

The sailors are irritated by the Black Sea Command's position on preventing a civilized process for the creation of the Ukrainian Navy and delaying negotiations on the Fleet's future. The address reads: "Our parents, wives, and sons are tired of this vague situation. We want to be Ukraine's equal citizens, we want to protect our nation's peaceful labor".

Defense Ministry Clamps Down on Illegal Acts

LD1201150893 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1100 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Text] The Ukrainian defense minister has issued an order warning about abuse in military trade. All officials, from deputy minister to commanders of units, are obliged to create conditions under which any violations in the army trading network are impossible. With this aim, the press service of the Defense Ministry notes, regular documentary inspections will be practiced. All the stores will be sent for security to remote, closed, and sparsely populated garrisons. Those guilty of violating the rules of military trade will be prosecuted.

Cabinet Adopts Rules on Ruble Zone Countries Trade

WS1201133493 Kiev KYYIVSKA PRAVDA in Ukrainian 10 Dec 92 p 1

[Report attributed to the press service of the Ukrainian prime minister: "To Overcome the Payments Crisis"]

[Text] The Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers and the National Bank of Ukraine have adopted the resolution "On the Normalization of Settlements Between Ruble Zone Enterprises".

For the preservation of the existing economic relations and the stabilization of the economy, state-run enterprises should, beginning 3 December, halt shipments of goods to the ruble zone countries without payment guarantees. In settlements with consumers it is recommended to use letters of credit, or advance payments by means of commercial bank accounts. It is necessary to take measures for the recovery of overdue debts.

To ensure timely payments for goods and services, enterprises should urgently inform their consumers about the numbers of the Ukrainian commercial bank accounts opened in the banks of the ruble zone countries.

Due to the reciprocal Ukrainian-Russian debt payments to take place 3-31 December, enterprises, organizations, and institutions are obliged to provide timely presentation of Russian payment authorizations for goods delivered and work and services performed before 16 November. They also should inform Russian consumers about the necessity to present to the banks Ukrainian payment authorizations for goods delivered and work and services performed.

Government Implements Antimonopoly Decree

AU1301074393 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 11 Jan 93 p 14

[Statement issued by the Press Service of Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers in Kiev; date not given: "Sanctions Against Monopolists"]

[Text] The new government of Ukraine has established actual responsibility of enterprises or departments that take advantage of their monopoly position and excessively raise prices or tariffs. The sad experience of "Ukrzaliznytsya" [Ukrainian Railroads] shows how this antimonopoly mechanism functions. At the end of December, the leadership of "Ukrzaliznytsya" adopted an illegal decision to increase tariffs for transporting passengers and cargo by railroad by a factor of 3.5, thereby blatantly violating the Cabinet of Ministers' decree "On Price Regulation."

The Ministry of the Economy suspended the action of the "Ukrzaliznytsya's" decision and state organs of price control imposed economic sanctions upon the offenders. In accordance with current legislation, sums of the illegally obtained capital are being transferred to the budget and double fines from these sums are being paid to local budgets. In particular, the Southwestern Railroad gained 6 million karbovantsi [K] from the illegal increase of the tariffs. The sum of the fines has amounted to K13.6 million. Thus, a total sum of K19.6 million will be expropriated from the Southwestern Railroad. The illegal increase of tariffs will cost the Dnieper Railroad K129.6 million. For similar actions, the Odessa Railroad will pay K107.4 million. Altogether, K313 million will be expropriated from the "Ukrzaliznytsya" network for the unauthorized increase of prices.

This example will, undoubtedly, be a good lesson to others.

Belarus

Formalities Surrounding Foreign Travel Changed

PM1201142593 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2100 GMT 9 Jan 93

[By Aleksey Guretskiy and Anatoliy Sinegubov; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Guretskiy] The Belarusian Government has established a new procedure for processing foreign travel documents. It envisages reregistering current passports so that the first page will display a stamp with the words "Citizen of the Republic of Belarus." And there will be a second stamp authorizing free travel to all countries within a specified period. However, such apparent freedom is not all it may seem. In actual fact, it is far from unlimited. Anybody who wants to go abroad has to be invited by somebody who, furthermore, must assume truly burdensome commitments. And when you consider that all our neighbors are showing open concern about a possible influx of eastern guests, the procedure for arranging foreign travel will become generally more rigorous. An invitation from Poland, for instance, will entail such expense that no amount of hospitality could possibly justify it. Thus, and I quote, it is for each individual to make his own judgment of the value of completing the registration of foreign travel documents as stipulated in the Belarusian Council of Ministers decree. Especially as even the workers at the Visa and Registration offices have run up against a mass of uncertainties and often cannot find the answers required.

Poll Surveys Attitudes Toward Parliament, Government

OW1101133793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1141 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] An opinion poll, held by sociologists of the Belarusian Academy of Sciences, revealed that 45.7% of the Belarusian population does not consider the work of the Belarusian parliament highly efficient; 49.2% of the respondents described the work of the government in the same way. Moreover, 37.7% of those polled think that the parliament is an absolutely inefficient body. As many as 31.8% of the respondents used the same words to describe the government's activity.

Commenting on the results of the opinion poll, Corresponding Member of the Belarusian Academy of Sciences Yevgeniy Baboso said that the social expectations of the majority of the citizens have nothing to do with the socioeconomic reforms carried out by the Belarusian leaders. However, neither the government, nor the parliament have tapped the trust of the nation.

He explained this by the Belarusians' habitual cautiousness.

Legislative Committee Chairmen on Reforms

WS1201133993 Minsk DOBRY VECHAR in Belarusian 14 Dec 92 p 2

[Article by BELINFORM correspondent A. Limanovski under the "Official Information" rubric: "We Will De Monopolize Economy, Divide Property, and Protect Servicemen"]

[Text] In short, the topic of the press conference which was held in the Belarusian Supreme Council centered around economic and military reforms in Belarus. L. Kozik, chairman of the Committee for Economic Reform, Independence, and Sovereignty, and L. Pryvalav, deputy chairman of the Committee for National Security, Defense, and Crime, took part in the press conference.

In the nearest future, the Belarusian legislature will discuss the four principal laws: on anti monopoly actions, on joint stock companies, on privatization, de-monopolization, and the issue of vouchers for the population. L. Kozik, chairman of the Committee for Economic Reform, Independence, and Sovereignty, shared his views on the draft projects with the audience.

He said that it was senseless to fight with price hikes because the economic behemoths occupy the whole market. Consequently, despite protests from the side of numerous manufacturers, the anti-monopoly law should be adopted as soon as possible. In addition, this law will make it possible to put an end to the developing disproportion between the prices on industrial and agricultural output.

Speaking about denationalization and privatization, L. Kozik mentioned that in accordance with the draft law, Belarusian citizens will have 30 percent of the state property free. After this property is assessed, it will simply be divided among the citizens depending on their age and length of work record. The most crucial factor, according to L. Kozik, is the fact that this law includes issues of land privatization.

L. Pryvalav, deputy chairman of the Committee for National Security, Defense, and Crime, concentrated on the military package of laws. In particular, he stressed the fact that due to these laws, the government managed to ensure the protection of the social interests of Belarusian servicemen. In accordance with the adopted military doctrine of the Republic of Belarus, the number of personnel in the Army will be reduced.

In conclusion, the deputies answered numerous questions from the journalists.

Moldova

14th Army Withdrawal To Take 10-15 Years

OW1101232593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1942 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The commander of the 14th Russian army Lieutenant-General Aleksandr Lebed has opposed the idea of an immediate withdrawal of his army from Moldova. Speaking at a news conference in Tiraspol on Sunday [10 January] he said that the Moldovan leaders' demand for the army's pullout by the end of 1994 was unrealistic.

General Lebed believes that it will take at least 10-15 years to redeploy all units, primarily because about 60 percent of the army's servicemen have homes with modern conveniences in Transdnestr and will be reluctant to leave for Russia "where nobody is waiting for them".

As far as military equipment is concerned, the General believes it is little value to the Russian armed forces, because it is outdated meant primarily for logistics.

General Lebed believes the problem of Transdnestr may be resolved if Moldova becomes a federation or confederation. He says the conflict has continued for such a long while because a special status for Transdnestr does not suit either side.

14th Army Supports Right to Self-Determination

LD1101134593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1253 GMT 11 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunaiskiy]

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—A poll conducted among officers of the 14th Russian Army stationed in Dniester region shows that 90 per cent of respondents believe the Dniester region should be given the right to self-determination, and only 2.9 percent consider the region to be part of Moldova.

When asked about the future of the Dniester region, the majority of respondents (42 per cent) said they would like to see it as a sovereign state, 15 per cent of Russian officers said they preferred the Dniester region to be part of Russia, 11 per cent came out for the region to be part of Moldova and 5 per cent said they want the region to be part of Ukraine.

When asked what they would do if the 14th Army was withdrawn pending the establishment of the political status of the Dniester region and ensuring guarantees against unleashing another armed conflict, half of the respondents said they would retire from the army and get enlisted in the armed forces of the Dniester region, while 29 per cent said they were ready to obey a command assigning them to a new place of station, 17 per cent said they were undecided and would act depending on the circumstances, 2.1 per cent believe the withdrawal of the 14th Army is impossible, while 1.2 per cent want to join the army of Ukraine.

Gagauz Government Resigns 12 Jan

LD1301101693 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0300 GMT 13 Jan 93

[Text] All the members of government of the self-proclaimed Gagauz Republic resigned yesterday. This was demanded by the session of the Supreme Soviet of the Gagauz Republic, which was held in Komrat. In the opinion of the deputies, the Cabinet did not adopt measures in time to eliminate the economic dependence of Gagauz on Moldova and to strengthen the republic's statehood. Executive power has now been handed over to President Stepan Topal.

Presidential Adviser Opposes Dniester Confederation

OW1201193993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1838 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Report prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature—item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an exclusive interview with an IF [INTERFAX] correspondent, the president's adviser Nikolae Kirtoake has declared that the Transdniesterian Supreme Soviet's proposal to form a Moldavian confederation has been prompted by its authors' "primitive logic, aimed at satisfying the local leaders' ambitions rather than at searching for constructive solutions that would meet the aspirations of the people in the region and help to avoid the repetition of an armed conflict", Mr. Kirtoake stressed.

IF Note: At a closed session on January 6, Transdniesteria's Supreme Soviet favoured the formation of a Moldavian confederation. Deputies in Tiraspol believe it's possible to set up a confederative alliance of "two equal independent states - a Transdniesterian Moldavian republic and a republic of Moldova to be called a Moldavian confederation." In the opinion of Transdniesterian lawmakers, the status of a new state should be determined by a share powering accord. Transdniesteria's Parliament has proposed to Moldova's Supreme Soviet to consider the issue and adopt an appropriate decision on it.

The president's adviser recalled that when the mechanism of settling the situation in Transdniesteria by political means had been agreed, there'd been a preliminary understanding not to set preconditions that might block a dialogue or impair it. Tiraspol's proposal, Mr. Kirtoake stressed, amounted to setting preconditions before the start of talks between Moldova and Transdniesteria on a special status of that region in an obvious attempt to divide the republic.

Mr. Kirtoake regards the offer as ungrounded in terms of the international law. "It's an absolutely voluntaristic decision and an arbitrary approach to the problem", he remarked. The advisor is convinced that Tiraspol's plan

will "sharply complicate actions of the conference commission, working on a mutually acceptable status of Transdniesteria as the key to normalizing the situation in the region in full.

IF Note: The Chairman of Moldova's Parliament Viktor Pushkashu has said in an interview with IF that "the idea of a confederation is senseless and unfeasible for Moldova, nor does it have any prospect." In his words, Transdniesteria's proposal is nothing new: the region voiced such an intention back in 1989. "The idea of a confederation was carried to the republic by Russian bayonets and still rests on them", Mr. Pushkashu said. At the same time he stressed that Chisinau "was always ready to discuss the problems of Transdniesteria's special status but only on the basis of the republican constitution and international law.

Dniester Deputies Reject 'Special Status' Idea

PM1301093393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jan 93 Morning Edition p 2

[Svetlana Gamova report: "Tiraspol Ends Talks With Chisinau"]

[Text] Chisinau—The Dniester region will not recognize any kind of relations with Moldova other than a confederate treaty. That ultimatum concluded the session of the region's people's deputies held in Tiraspol.

The decision was made in response to a proposal from the Chisinau commission set up to negotiate on the question of special status for the republic's eastern rayons. Special status was restricted to a "Trans-Dniester self-administered territory" headed by a prefect appointed by the Moldovan authorities. Dubossary is proposed as the center of the "territory," Tiraspol is given the role of a city with an independent administration.

The Dniester deputies considered this proposal to be unacceptable, making what was for them the unfavorable comparison with the likely decision on the Gagauz south, where it is planned that the head of the local administration will be popularly elected.

The Dniester people have sent a statement to the Moldovan parliament, the heads of the CIS countries, and international social organizations with a request for support.

The Dniester deputies have been defining their strategic line against a backdrop of a split and a deteriorating political struggle in Tiraspol itself. Certain circles, supported by the industrial lobby, are leaning toward a change in the existing leadership. The leadership is being earnestly accused of corruption with the Russian representatives in the region—A. Lebed, commander of the Russian Federation 14th Army, and M. Bergman, commander of the Tiraspol Garrison.

This confrontation, accompanied by recriminations and mass surveillance, has stoked the situation in the city and in the region as a whole to boiling point. The session participants called the situation nothing short of an attempted coup. Observers are stating that the possible consequence could be that the region implodes. Fears are being expressed that a new spiral in the conflict may flare up. The population is pinning its hopes for protection on the 14th Russian Army, believing it to be the "guarantor of peace in the region."

Joining CIS 'Would Be Catastrophic'

OW1201180093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1537 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Moldovan president's statement on a clear definition of the republic's status "has driven a wedge between members of parliament and represents an apple of discord thrown at parliament and society." This was the reaction to the statement voiced by Aleksander Moshan, the chairman of the Moldovan parliament, in an article published on Tuesday [12 January] by the "TSARA" ("Country") newspaper. Moshan stressed that "arguments on this subject will not help clarify the issue but will only bring about new difficulties."

Parliament's speaker stressed that "two interests have now clashed: either we retain our independence, state integrity, and close links with Romania; or we turn our back on Romania and hold a referendum on disassociating ourselves from our brothers."

The chairman of parliament said that to join the CIS would be catastrophic for Moldova. He was of the view that Moldova would be unable to conduct an independent pricing policy or have any genuine financial and economic independence if links were maintained with the former Soviet nations.

Kazakhstan

Chernomyrdin, Tereshchenko Cited on Omsk Accord

PM1201164993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 12 Jan 93 p 1

[Report by Andrey Illarionov: "Kazakhstan Favors Single Economic Space"]

[Text] Omsk—At a 10 January press conference on the results of the Russian-Kazakhstani meeting in Omsk, government heads V. Chernomyrdin and S. Tereshchenko agreed that the aim of the meeting had been achieved, an agreement had been signed on the principles of economic, social, and cultural relations, accords had been reached on certain vitally important questions of reciprocal deliveries of very important products and acceleration of payments and efficient transport operations and in the solution of ecological problems and questions of protecting public order.

Judging by the questions at the press conference, some of the journalists viewed the results with a degree of skepticism, probably unable to believe that rapid changes for the better in our life were a realistic possibility. But the concrete nature of the decisions made in Omsk is certainly a major plus for the meeting. It is not just that there will be supplies of machine tools and machinery, automobile tires, and televisions to match the flow of power from Ekibastuz to Kazakhstan and not just that the state of the water in the Irtysh will be more efficiently regulated in both sides' interests. More important is the fact that instead of mere words, a definite move has been made to shift the center of gravity in the solution of economic problems to the regions.

Summing up the meeting, Kazakhstan Government head S. Tereshchenko said that Kazakhstan favors a single economic space with Russia and coordinated actions in the center and locally.

Russian government head V.S. Chernomyrdin added that it would be very gratifying if the initiative to organize interregional economic relations in the regions of Russia and Kazakhstan were to be supported in regions of other CIS states on the borders with Russia.

Nazarbayev Decrees Formation of Economic Council

LD1201145593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1351 GMT 12 Jan 93

[By KAZTAG-TASS correspondent Fedor Ignatov]

[Text] Alma-Ata January 12 (ITAR-TASS)—President Nursultan Nazarbayev has created by decree a National Council of Economic Transformation of Kazakhstan. Its purpose is to guarantee the implementation of urgent anti-crisis measures and the deepening of social-economic reform. The prime minister of the republic was appointed the chairman of the council.

The provision on the council's creation says that it will be a standing government agency and will exercise the functions of state adjustment and control over reconstructing the economic system and the formation of market relations. The council's directions of activity and rights have also been determined. It will prepare the necessary changes and additions to existing law on economic reform and social development, draft proposals to re-organize ministeries and departments, and create new market and management structures.

U.S. Equipment Boosts Alma-Ata Telecommunications

PM1301113793 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2100 GMT 9 Jan 93

[By Isaak Dvorkin and Vasiliy Khominets; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Alma-Ata's communications workers have received a multimillion-dollar gift. The costly equipment will provide an opportunity to take a step toward setting up a reliable and efficient communications system in Kazakhstan.

[Dvorkin] [Video opens with shot of communications switchboard.] Before the Union collapsed and the center disappeared, the situation in this sector resembled life in a communal apartment, where there is just one telephone for everybody and the person in charge—in this case, Moscow—decides who can call and for how long.

[Unidentified interviewee] In the old days, when we made international calls via Moscow, everything had to go through our exchange, obviously with great difficulty. We could not serve the whole republic with just 11 lines. Since we became independent, things in general have started to improve. Many firms are approaching us with proposals for closer links.

[Dvorkin] Now Atyrau, Taldy-Kurgan, and other oblasts are provided with an automatic international communications link. In Alma-Ata, hundreds of subscribers can get through to various countries far more quickly and simply by dialing direct. All this represents solid revenue and receipts for the national budget. Future cooperation with China looks likely. There was enthusiastic talk of the need for close communications in sovereign Kiev, but the American company AT&T, setting its sights on future dividends, presented Alma-Ata with a gift of equipment worth $6.5 million in order to get a foothold in Kazakhstan. [Video shows communications station, equipment, workers.]

Kyrgystan

President Creates National Energy Ministry

OW1201193893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1838 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Report prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature—item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Askar Akayev adopted a decree on the priority development of the republic's energy complex. The presidential press service reported to an INTERFAX correspondent that the document states that the achievement of the republic's energy independence is one of the main directions of Kyrgyzstan's economic development.

In the near two years the annual coal production will constitute not less than 3,5 million tons, the extraction of oil will be increased by 3 times, an oil processing factory with the capacity 300 thousand tons will be put into operation in the republic. The President pays great attention to the preparation of the project to extract and reprocess coal in the Kara-Kechenski coal basin, and to draw foreign companies to participate in the land-survey, geo-physical research, boring works at the probable sites of oil deposits. Akayev considers it necessary to complete the construction of several hydro electric power stations, transmission lines, to start a mass production of instrumentation, equipment, and small power generators in the framework of the project "KUN" aimed at the exploitation of non-traditional sources of power and introduction of energy saving technologies into the national economy.

President ordered to form Kyrgyzstan's Energy Ministry; its main task will be the development and implementation of the unified state policy. One of the first Vice Premiers carries personal responsibility for the general control over the energy complex.

The government is to develop a draft bill on the priority development of Kyrgyzstan's energy complex and to present proposals concerning the usage of the credits granted by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank to ensure the annual extraction of coal totalling 3,5 million tons in 1993 and to finance other projects to draw the republic out of the energy crisis.

President To Issue Decree Allowing Foreign Workers

OW1101223693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1742 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Report prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature—item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Kyrgyz citizens will have the opportunity to work freely in other countries under conditions which do not impair their rights to work and property, and foreign citizens will be guaranteed the opportuniity of working in Kyrgyzstan. INTERFAX was informed by President Akayev's press bureau that these rights would be guaranteed by a special decree by the president which would regulate state policy regarding labour migration from abroad.

By doing this, A. Akayev confirms Kyrgyzstan's commitment to the Helsinki Agreements and the CSCE's Paris Charter on human rights and liberties. The decree has elevated the policy on guaranteeing the unimpeded migration of workers to the status of one of the state's highest social and economic priorities. The policy will operate on the basis of non-discrimination in the republic and will not permit administrative prohibitions or unnaturally stringent procedures for migration itself.

The presidential decree provides for the introduction of legislation in Kyrgyzstan in accordance with international laws on protection for workers' rights. This policy is to be implemented by the republic's ministry for employment and social security.

Special Entry Regulations Introduced in South

OW0901165693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1608 GMT 9 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Special regulations have been introduced for entry into Osh Region in the south of Kyrgyzstan.

The military commandant of the region, which borders on Uzbekistan in the west and on Tajikistan in the south, on Saturday gave orders to set up checkpoints in some districts as a measure to "ensure the maintenance of law and order and prevent the contraband of weapons and drugs." The personal belongings and cars of those entering the region will be "carefully examined," and restrictions will be imposed on the entry into the region of motor vehicles in general.

Lately the situation in Osh Region has considerably aggravated due to the increasing inflow of refugees from Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. The Kyrgyz authorities fear a growing number of criminals and rapid spread of weapons and drugs in Kyrgyzstan. Thus, in checking the residents of the Intourist hotel in Osh, the police found 80 people from Tajikistan having no permission to live in Kyrgyzstan. The police have been ordered to take control of all hotels and hostels in the town.

Osh Region is still under the state of emergency declared there in summer 1990 after mass-scale ethnic clashes between Kyrgyzes and Uzbeks, when some 300 people were killed, according to official reports.

Tajikistan

Government Forces Complete Operations in Obigarm

OW1201123693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1206 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Monday [11 January] evening, the Tajik government forces completed the combat operation against the opposition units near the city of Obigarm, 80 kilometers east of Dushanbe. During clashes, one government forces soldier was killed and another was wounded.

On Tuesday, a combat operation began near the Rogun hydro-power plant. This region is populated by 7,500 Russian hydro-power-plant workers.

In the estimate of military experts, it would be more difficult to establish control over Rogun, which is in the hands of the opposition, because the government forces cannot use aviation.

In an interview with "IZVESTIYA," chairman of the Tajik parliament Imamali Rakhmonov did not refute the reports that the Tajik Interior Ministry's special brigade had been formed with the participation of Uzbek servicemen in Termez, and that the armored vehicles and even aviation had been supplied by Uzbekistan.

He said that the socio-political situation cannot be normalized if the illegally kept fire arms are not surrendered. However, according to different sources, the population still keeps about 30,000 guns.

Rogun 'Liberated'; Dushanbe Calm

LD1301070793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0653 GMT 13 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vadim Brykin]

[Text] Moscow January 13 TASS—The situation was calm in Dushanbe on Tuesday [12 January] night. Not even isolated shots could be heard in the city last night, a spokesman for the Tajik National Security Committee told ITAR-TASS by telephone on 07.00, local time. Another populated locality, the city of Rogun, was liberated by government troops from the opposition armed groups on Tuesday. The government troops lost one man killed and another wounded.

Isolated cases of the violation of the frontier guard regime were registered on the Tajik-Afghan border. Although refugees who fled to Afghanistan began to return to the Republic, some 30,000 refugees are still staying in the border area. They are not moving to Afghanistan, but are afraid to return home.

The food situation continues to be difficult. The Tajik National Security Committee reports, however, that the Leninabad region sent food aid to Dushanbe, Kurgan-Tyube and Kulyab.

Border Guards Said Under Fire From Afghanistan

OW1201133493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1208 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Tajik Foreign Ministry is drafting a note to Afghanistan protesting the incident on the border between the two countries. The staff of the Russian border force in Tajikistan reports that on Monday [11 January], on the Panj section, some 20 marauders from Afghanistan were noticed robbing a Tajik refugee camp of several thousand people. Fleeing from the hostilities between the rival groups, the refugees have fled to the border zone.

The marauders opened automatic fire at a group of border guards patrolling the zone. Later, armored reinforcements of border guards came under mortar fire from Afghan territory.

On Monday on another section, Russian border guards were forced to use arms against a group of armed men crossing over to Afghanistan.

Refugees Continue to Return

LD1201195893 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1700 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Text] The National Security Committee of the Republic of Tajikistan reported today that the state border of Tajikistan in Panj rayon was violated on 11 January. Two groups comprising 10-12 armed men tried to violate the borders from the Islamic state of Afghanistan. However, their attempt was foiled by the guards [words indistinct]

According to another report by the National Security Committee of Tajikistan, every day more than 200 Tajik refugees are returning to their homeland. For example, on 11 January 241 refugees returned from the Islamic state of Afghanistan to Ishkashem rayon. It should be noted that every day many women and children are returning from the neighboring country.

Refugees Include Russians

OW1201181193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1536 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Approximately 20-30 Russian refugees found themselves in Afghanistan along with Tajiks rescued

from the combat action between government and opposition armed detachments. Two of them, Klavdia Golisheva and her 14-year old daughter Olga, finding themselves in Afghanistan succeeded in finding the Russian consulate in Khairaton and appealed for assistance to return home.

Meanwhile Russian border guards on the Tajik-Afghan border organized a special crossing point for the refugees through the border from Afghanistan to Tajikistan in Ishkashem where the only bridge over river Panj is located. On Monday and Tuesday about 300 people crossed this bridge to return home, mainly women and children. Overall, approximately 100 thousand persons have currently taken refuge in Afghanistan.

Rakhmonov, Russian Commanders on Border Protection

LD1201165393 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 0100 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Text] In Dushanbe on 10 January Imamali Rakhmonov, chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet, met with staff of the Border Troops Command of the Russian Federation in the Republic of Tajikistan, leaders of the Border Guard detachments, and commanders of military units.

The speaker of parliament began with the sociopolitical situation in the republic and the measures adopted by the republican leadership aimed at stabilizing the situation in the country. The strengthening and protection of the Republic of Tajikistan's border with the Islamic State of Afghanistan was the main subject of the meeting. It is well known that the situation is tense throughout the border between Tajikistan and Afghanistan. During the past few months border violations by individual citizens of the republic who [words indistinct] are returning to Tajikistan with large amounts of arms have not only continued but have increased.

The meeting particularly paid attention to coordination and cooperation between the Command of the Russian Border Troops and the Directorate of State Borders Protection of the National Security Committee of the Republic of Tajikistan and to the material and technical provisions of the troops.

The [word indistinct] of adopting laws on the state borders of the Republic of Tajikistan and on the status of the border troops of the Russian Federation stationed in the territory of the republic were also discussed.

The Command of the Border Troops stressed that the measures taken by the leadership of the republic aimed at stabilizing the situation in the republic and along the state border are regarded as positive steps.

Imamali Rakhmonov noted that the republican leadership will provide all-around assistance to the military servicemen and border guards.

The meeting was attended by Ubaidulloyev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Tajikistan; Zuhurov, chairman of the National Security Committee of the republic; and Salimov, chairman of the Executive Committee of Khatlon Oblast.

Rakhmonov Interviewed on Politics, Civil War

PM1201174593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jan 93 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with Tajik Supreme Soviet Chairman Imamali Rakhmonov by Aleksandr Karpov in Dushanbe; date not given: "I. Rakhmonov: To Repent and Not Go On Seeking Enemies"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] The republic's new leadership, which came in following the session of parliament held in December, has a grave legacy—very complex sociopolitical and economic problems multiplied by the terrible consequences of civil war. Overcoming the crisis means, above all, having a clear idea of the causes of the tragedy that happened. It was with this that Imamali Rakhmonov began the conversation.

[Rakhmonov] I see the chief cause in the fact that the struggle for power among various political parties and movements in our republic went beyond constitutional methods. After proclaiming the slogans of the democratization of society, spiritual rebirth, and the nation's emancipation, the leaders of the Democratic Party and the "Rastokhez" movement in opposition to the former ruling Communist Party also very soon forgot that democracy means political tolerance, and they preferred "speed and pressure" to careful analysis of complex problems. The result was a so-called uncomprising approach on an exclusively populist basis. If you consider that we live in the poorest of all the republics of the former USSR, then radicalism, burdened by the population's still worse living conditions in recent years, could not fail to lead to political confrontation and extremism.

[Karpov] For the general public, to a considerable extent thanks to reports in the mass media, the tragedy of the civil war in Tajikistan is associated with the arrival of the forces of Islamic fundamentalism. How fair is this? What, in your view, is the possibility of creating an Islamic state in the republic?

[Rakhmonov] The program of the Islamic Revival Party, which was formed in Tajikistan just over a year ago, records the chief aim in black and white—to proclaim an Islamic state on the republic's territory. At the same time, however, it emphasizes that, as a party of a parliamentary type, the Islamic Revival Party will employ nonviolent, political methods, but pressure on the organs of power is predominant in its operating style. Leaders of the official clergy in the republic maintain that the preconditions and conditions for the creation of an Islamic state do not exist in Tajikistan today. At the same time they are actively seeking to acquire special weight in the resolution precisely of state problems. But under the constitution the church is separate from the

state. It turns out that legal nihilism is not alien to our clergy either. Soon after my election as chairman of parliament, I said: While the republic's present leadership fulfills its duties, the church in Tajikistan will also tackle only its own affairs. Maybe that sounded a bit tough, but this is my position.

[Karpov] You spoke of pressure on parliament. How do you rate the Supreme Soviet's activity in the crisis?

[Rakhmonov] I will not say that parliament behaved irreproachably. The very fact that the Supreme Soviet changed its chairman five times in a year... Not one of the former speakers left amicably, so to speak, or for objective reasons: Each was the victim, one way or another, of the political struggle. The fever in society provoked a fever in parliament, which was unable to halt the blackmail, psychological terror, demagoguery, and fanning of rally passions. The power structures in turn were rotten with corruption and parochialism. The Supreme Soviet's firm position is possible when it has a reliable mainstay, but it did not. The result was unscrupulous compromises.

Nonetheless, when the crisis reached its apogee and it became clear to everyone that further confrontation threatened a national disaster, the Supreme Soviet remained the only organ of power recognized by all the opposing sides. In the end, this helped the deputies to rise above group and parochial interests and political ambitions and to form a constitutional government. The armistice agreement among many field commanders created a basis to begin the stabilization process.

[Karpov] Many intriguing episodes in the political life of Tajikistan last year were linked with the name of ex-President Rakhmon Nabiyev...

[Rakhmonov] We have abolished the presidential form of rule. The functions of the head of state have been divided up between the top persons in the structures of legislative and executive power. I do not count myself among those who readily give character references for their predecessors, but it is obvious that for various reasons Rakhmon Nabiyev did not find it easy to work. He probably took what was happening quite hard. Then he realized that he had to go. The Supreme Soviet accepted his resignation. That says it all.

[Karpov] Tajik television programs have reported on Uzbekistan's military assistance to the republic's new leadership. Particularly the fact that a special Internal Affairs Ministry brigade has been formed in Termez, that the personnel of this subunit were trained with the participation of Uzbek officers, and that armored vehicles and even aircraft were also provided by the Uzbek side to combat antigovernment armed groups. Will this circumstance not complicate the political situation in Tajikistan in the future?

[Rakhmonov] Uzbekistan's assistance, including military assistance, is being given and, I hope, will be given at the request of Tajikistan's legitimate government. This is in full accordance with the treaty on the principles of the Commonwealth countries' collective security. It is aimed, above all, at strengthening our southern borders. In addition, last year's events put forward many problems—we simply cannot resolve them without the assistance of the CIS republics, with which we intend to continue fraternal, good-neighborly relations on the basis of the principles of mutually advantageous cooperation.

[Karpov] You said in one of your speeches that the population today holds approximately 30,000 firearms. How do you picture the disarmament process?

[Rakhmonov] There can be no question of stabilization of the sociopolitical situation until all the firearms illegally held by citizens and the combat hardware have been surrendered to the authorities. Those who have surrendered weapons voluntarily and within the time laid down by the authorities are exempt from criminal proceedings. Provision is also made for the following option: If a young person is prepared to become a serviceman in the national army of Tajikistan and has, say, a Kalashnikov assault rifle acquired with his own money, he can take his place in the combat ranks with his weapon. The state will redeem the assault rifle from him in accordance with a contract...

But plans are plans, and reality is reality. We have twice set deadlines for the voluntary surrender of weapons. But the process is not proceeding at a pace that would suit everyone. A state of emergency was introduced in the republic in the first days of the new year. This was also done to speed up the disarmament procedure. This is now a compulsory procedure, but I will emphasize that it is legitimate and, most importantly, essential to ensure the normal, tranquil life of citizens.

[Karpov] How does the republic's new leadership intend to build relations with political parties and movements?

[Rakhmonov] Not one of the existing political organizations in Tajikistan has been outlawed. The Supreme Soviet has officially declared that the republic's citizens will on no account be persecuted for political or religious convictions. Only national reconciliation can help to normalize the situation and to arrange creative work. The influence of the leaders of political parties and movements could, for example, help to ease tension on the Tajik-Afghan border, where thousands of refugees have gathered. But so far, alas, no one has come to help us...

[Karpov] Fighting between supporters and opponents of the present authorities in various parts of the republic continued until the very last days of the old year. What, in your opinion, will make it possible to overcome the split?

[Rakhmonov] A tremendous number of people far removed from politics have fallen into the bloody meat grinder of the civil war. Today they seem to be seeing the light: For tens of thousands of Tajik families have buried relatives, the number of refugees has reached 0.5 million, and the material damage has reached 90 billion rubles. The most irresponsible way is to continue seeking the guilty persons, seeking enemies. The time has come to repent before one another. It is time to understand that

Kulyab, Pamir, Karateginskiy, Garm, Kurgan-Tyube, and Gissar mothers suffer identically in different parts of the republic.

Turkmenistan

Niyazov Cited on Media Controls, Other Issues

PM1301114193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 12 Jan 93 p 2

[TASS exclusive report: "Turkmenistan President Saparmurad Niyazov: 'It Will Be Democracy For All'"]

[Text] Ashgabat—In his address to the people of Turkmenistan President Saparmurad Niyazov described the next century as a golden age for Turkmen. He derived his optimistic prognosis from the new policy blueprint—the policy for the transitional period or decade of prosperity.

Aside from the well-known factors, which consist in the rich natural and raw material potential which will be brought into play by the stage-by-stage transition to the market and private ownership on the basis of attracting extensive foreign investment and creating a class of entrepreneurs, Saparmurad Niyazov also adduced the factor of the stage-by-stage transition to democracy.

It is a paradox that although Turkmenistan was the last to secede from the USSR, it has completely dissociated itself from it, and not just in words, but it was the first of the republics of the former Union to create its own Constitution and introduce presidential rule. The head of the Turkmen sees this "transformation" as being rooted not in the current political situation, but in underlying factors, which stem from the Turkmen's genetic aptitude for statesmanship.

In the Middle Ages, Niyazov said, citing a historical source, it was said: "If you want to build a house, employ an Armenian; if you want to build a state, employ a Turkmen."

The powerful state of the Seljuks, which existed at the beginning of the millennium, proved this, but after the Mongol-Tatar invasions statesmanship was bred out of the captive Turkmen. A new saying was born: "Every Turkmen is his own khan." This mentality became firmly established, and that was why for many centuries Turkmen were unable to unite. Turkmenistan's 70 years as the Soviet empire's raw material adjunct, which helped give the entire people an inferiority complex, was totally destructive to the state mentality.

Urging his people to rid themselves of this feeling once and for all, Saparmurad Niyazov asked them to eliminate the old tribal ways and put a stop to any intrigues on tribal grounds. No matter what tribes we come from, we remain sons of the Turkmen people, he said.

We must abandon the Marxism-Leninism that was forced on us, Saparmurad Niyazov stated. But we have no intention of building an Islamic state; religion here is separate from the state. As a great spiritual teaching, Islam must take its place in the system of values as a force that cleanses people's hearts and consciences.

Turkmenistan will progress in a sedate, Oriental way along the path of democracy. Children can grow in swaddling clothes, the author of the appeal to the people observed, but no one calls that coercion.

In order to avoid clan and tribal strife, Saparmurad Niyazov said, the media will be controlled in the first stage of the transitional period. We will also be very cautious in our approach to solving the problem of a multiparty system and opposition.

When goodness and love take root, Saparmurad Niyazov said, there is no room for evil and harm. It will be what I regard as democracy par excellence, it will be democracy for all.

Uzbekistan

'Birlik' Aide on Moves Against Opposition

MK1201150493 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Jan 93 p 3

[Interview with Shukhrat Ismatulayev, cochairman of the "Birlik" movement, by Igor Rotar under "Uzbekistan" rubric; place and date not given: "'Authorities Provoking Tajik Option.' Shukhrat Ismatulayev, Cochairman of 'Birlik' Movement, on Democratic Opposition's Position"]

[Text] [Rotar] The opposition in Uzbekistan is having a hard time at the moment....

[Ismatulayev] We have been under severe pressure from the authorities since the beginning of summer, but after the international human rights conference in Bishkek, Tashkent launched a concentrated campaign against opposition movements in the republic. In Bishkek the Uzbek security service seized three conference participants from our republic, including Abdumannob Pulatov, chairman of the Uzbek society for the defense of human rights. At approximately the same time the Supreme Soviet session instructed the Justice Ministry and Prosecutor's Office to investigate the "Birlik" leadership's allegedly illegal actions. The arrests of the opposition in Uzbekistan began immediately after this.

[Rotar] How many political prisoners are there in Uzbekistan now?

[Ismatulayev] At least five: Former USSR People's Deputy Pulat Akhunov, sentenced to 18 months on a fabricated charge; Babur Shokirov, Khazrakul Khudoberdyyev, and Atanazar Aripov, charged with a crime against the state (only recently this article of the Criminal Code dealt with anti-Soviet agitation); and Abdumannob Pulatov, charged with insulting the president.

[Rotar] Are the authorities trying to provide theoretical justification for their policy toward the opposition?

[Ismatulayev] Karimov's propaganda is increasingly implanting in the population the idea that the only possible alternative to the current regime is the Tajik option, that is, a bloody uprising. It is on this pretext that the authorities frequently deal harshly with the opposition. Thus I, for example, was dismissed from the university under a rather odd formula: "in connection with the complication of the situation in Tajikistan."

[Rotar] But you will agree that Tajik experience has shown really clearly that in Central Asian conditions chaos ensues after despotic regimes have fallen.

[Ismatulayev] I definitely disagree with that. First, both Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan are relatively democratic states, and the situation in these republics is quite stable. Second, when democratic organizations are suppressed the initiative can pass to extremists, and the sidelined moderate opposition will not be able to channel uncontrolled dissatisfaction into a peaceful course. Judge for yourself: The minimum wage in Uzbekistan is currently fixed at 2,500 rubles, but this decree applies only to "budget- funded personnel;" that is, millions of people have slipped through the net. In this situation all you have to do is say the word and tens of thousands will take to the streets. The authorities are doing everything to deprive us of the opportunity to influence the situation and persuade people not to take the revolutionary path. You know, I get the impression that the authorities are themselves provoking the Tajik option in Uzbekistan.

Armenia

Prime Minister Evaluates Talks With Russian Leaders

LD1201200093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1918 GMT 12 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan January 12 TASS—Armenian Prime Minister Khosrov Arutyunyan has described Russian-Armenian talks and political consultations which ended in Moscow on Monday [11 January] as "useful and fruitful". Addressing a press conference in Yerevan today, he noted: "For yet another time we found understanding and support from the Russian leadership as well as the desire to cushion by specific steps the critical situation formed in Armenia's economy and its fuel and energy sector."

Arutyunyan announced that Russia will supply 1.7 million tonnes of black oil, 300,000 tonnes of diesel fuel and 150,000 tonnes of petrol to Armenia this year. According to him, the volume of reciprocal economic supplies and investments will amount to 122 million U.S. dollars.

In addition, Arutyunyan said an accord was reached that Russia will organise immediately the supply of 100,000 tonnes of black oil to Armenia using all types of transport and on the proposal of the Armenian side will take measures to normalise gas shipments to Armenia.

Arutyunyan also emphasised that during the Moscow meetings the sides discussed financial and economic issues of mutual interest, specifically those related to Russian capital investments in the Armenian economy "for the purpose of bolstering Russian economic interests". Specifically, the sides will set up joint enterprises that will operate in Armenia under the Russian flag and also subsidiaries of Russian industrial facilities.

Russian Black Oil Delivery Problem Solved

NC1201201793 Yerevan SNARK in English 1437 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Figures as received]

[Text] Yerevan, January 12 (SNARK)—Khosrov Arutyunyan, the Armenian prime-minister, has informed SNARK's reporter of the fact that the problem connected with 100,000 tons of black oil delivery from Russia to Armenia has already been solved. Arutyunyan has informed of those quotas which are supposed in economic agreements between Russia and Armenia for 1993. So, Armenia should get 1,700,000 ton of black oil, 300,000 ton of diesel fuel, 150,000 ton of petrol. The volume of mutual deliveries is 122,000,000 US dollars. There are no guarantees for success, though elements of economic mutual profit can be considered as the main guarantee for realizing the agreements. The Armenian prime has also announced the necessity to set up some Russian-Armenian joint ventures.

Army Forms Units of Contract Recruits

OW1201180593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1538 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The formation of subdivisions of the Armenian Armed Forces to be composed from servicemen recruited on a contractual basis should be complete by February, INTERFAX was informed by the Armenian Defence Ministry's press bureau. Recruitment for a volunteer motor brigade is currently taking place in Yerevan, Vanadzor and Gyumri. The press center said that many had expressed an interest in joining the Armenian army and that this was what had created the need for the selection procedure to be handled by a special commission. Several thousand servicemen are expected to be recruited on an contractual basis. A rank and file soldier serving on a contractual basis will receive a salary of at least 6,900 rubles per month. This sum will double if the soldier takes part in military activity.

Recent Incidents in Nagorno-Karabakh Detailed

NC1201194293 Yerevan Radio Yerevan in Azeri 1430 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Text] Dear listeners: We now present a report on the latest incidents in the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] and the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Although the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh remains tense, exchanges of fire and clashes have considerably decreased. The confrontation is mainly in the form of exchanges of fire. The Azerbaijani Armed Forces have continued their periodic fire on NKR's border rayons, including Martuninskiy, Askeranskiy, and Gadrutskiy Rayons, with various types of arms. The Azerbaijani units have continued their attempts to attack Kevorkavan in Martuninskiy Rayon. We reported earlier that Azerbaijani attacks on Kevorkavan were rebuffed a few days ago. The enemy units were forced to retreat after losing many men and a large quantity of military equipment. The number of casualties and military equipment Azerbaijan has lost in that part of the battle front is many times greater than the loss suffered by Armenian units.

Speaking at a press conference, Arman Dulyan, head of the Armenian Ministry of Defense Press Service, said that the number of casualties suffered by Azerbaijan in Nagorno-Karabakh and the border areas is five times greater than the number of Armenian casualties. He gave two reasons to explain why Azerbaijan has lost more men: first, the attacking side suffers a greater number of casualties, and second was the presence of poorly trained soldiers among the Azerbaijani units.

The Azerbaijan Defense Ministry sends 18-year-old youths to the battle front, most of whom take drugs before fighting. Azerbaijan's military leaders resort to other means to [word indistinct] their troops.

Armenian units killed 70 enemy troops in the latest Azerbaijani attack against the southern part of Armenia. The Armenian side lost 10 men. Regardless of all this, Azerbaijan's leaders and chauvinist circles do not wish to relinquish their hostile activities against the NKR and Armenia.

Kevorkavan was fired on from Fizulinskiy Rayon with Grad rocket launchers once again on the night of 10 January. The town was the target of 40 missiles. An Armenian fighter was killed and another was wounded. The Armenian side was forced to take retaliatory measures. Martuni and Charpaz were fired on on the same day. However, the situation in Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh] was relatively peaceful yesterday.

The Goris-Lachin-Stepanakert highway is open to traffic and is being used to supply needed provisions, fuel, and drugs to those fighting in Artsakh.

Tension continues to prevail in the border region between Armenia and Azerbaijan. However, the situation in a very large section of the border is relatively peaceful at the present time. Nevertheless, Azerbaijan has not abandoned its provocative activities on the Tavushskiy and Krasnoselskiy Rayon borders. Azerbaijani units have frequently fired on the two rayons with various types of arms and attacked them several times.

The enemy shelled Paravakar, [place name indistinct], Nerkin-Karmiragyur, and (Movses) in Tavushskiy Rayon with heavy artillery units on 10 January. The peace was disrupted in that rayon once again on 11 January. Azerbaijan opened fire on the residential areas in the rayon. However, the Armenian military forces effectively defended the border, obstructed the enemy provocations, and tried to silence the enemy fire emplacement. Azerbaijani units lost six men in clashes that took place when they attacked (Chinary) yesterday. The enemy units were forced to retreat.

The situation worsened in the southern part of the humanitarian corridor in Lachinskiy Rayon at 1030 on 10 January.

Azerbaijani units tried to attack Kornidzor in Gorisskiy Rayon. The situation in that area is still tense. The Armenian fighters used all their resources to obstruct the enemy attack.

The Azerbaijani provocations units will continue to backfire in the future. Armenia wishes to coexist in peace with Azerbaijan. Our republic has disclosed several times that it is prepared to find a peaceful solution to the problems and disputes. However, Azerbaijan's leaders have put forward various excuses not to respond to the proposals made to end the confrontation through negotiations. Unfortunately, the agreements that were reached in various domains in the past have remained on paper. Undoubtedly, this situation conflicts with the interests of our peoples.

'Relative Calm' on Karabakh Borders Reported

NC1201190293 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Text] KARABAKH NEWS AGENCY cites self-defense forces headquarters as reporting that a relative calm prevailed in Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] last night. The only exceptions were a few isolated exchanges of gunfire, which did not substantially change the overall combat situation.

The self-defense headquarters believes that the calm on the battle front is mostly due to the cold weather and extremely heavy precipitation, which hampers movement. However, the Azerbaijani side may try to regroup its Army units and mass additional troops and military hardware so that upon the first signs of fair weather it could again employ its military power all along the battlefront.

The NKR self-defense forces still fully control the Lachin corridor.

The Armenian Defense Ministry Press Service reported that no serious incidents were observed on the Armenian-Azerbaijani border last night and this morning. It is now the third day that a relative calm has prevailed on all the border regions of Armenia.

Azerbaijan

Baku Says West Wants To Make Situation Like Iraq

NC1301090993 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Turkish 1630 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Text] Baku Radio has claimed the West wants to create a situation in Azerbaijan similar to that in Iraq. Referring to a recent statement by President Bush, the radio said: The West has made a decision that will create a situation in Azerbaijan similar to that in Iraq.

The radio said President Bush recently called for the deployment of UN forces in the Karabakh region. Bush said the United States should maintain a more active policy on the Karabakh dispute.

The radio recalled that Azerbaijan sees the Karabakh dispute as an internal affair and said Baku opposes the deployment of foreign forces in Karabakh.

Elchibey Warns Against Forgetting Eastern Countries

OW1201193693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1836 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Report prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature—item transmitted via KYODO]

[Excerpt] "Even though Azerbaijan is establishing contacts with the West, it must not forget about its eastern policy. The eastern aspect must be given special attention," President Elchibey told the Popular Front's newspaper "AZADLYK." The president believes that trade and economic cooperation with the Central Asian states and Kazakhstan should be given a new impetus. The advantages of economic contacts with these countries are obvious, he said.

He is convinced, for instance, that Azerbaijan should import grain from Kazakhstan, rather than Canada. Although the Central Asian states have very much in common, it will not be easy for them to attain mutual understanding, he continued. In view of this, he welcomed the establishment of the community of independent Central Asian states. He noted, however, that the period of transition from declarations to actual work will not be easy. [passage omitted]

Guseynov Seeks Accelerated Economic Ties With Russia

NC1201171493 Baku TURAN in English 1001 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Text] Baku, 12 Jan (TURAN)—The Azeri Prime Minister Rakhim Guseynov demanded from the leadership of the departments finish till February 1 the preparation of the market-economy agreement between Russia and Azerbaijan within 1993.

It is caused mainly by the intension of the Russian Government to put in force from February 1 the 65 per cent custom tax and a special regime of trade with Azerbaijan.

Yesterday the premier marked that this decision is the violation of the recent agreement.

The First Prime-Minister Abbas Abbasov returning from Moscow, where he conducted negotiations with the First Deputy Chairman of the Russian Government Aleksander Shokhin, marked that in spite some disagreements, sides reached principal agreement according the goods of the strategic importance which will be surtaxed. At the same time the Russian side has announced that is ready to enlarge the list of goods, released from tax.

Baku Concerned Over Ethnic Russians in War Zone

OW1201131693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1206 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Azeri Foreign Ministry expressed concern about the position of ethnic Russians in the zone of conflict with Armenia. On January 12, the Azeri Foreign Ministry circulated a statement on the position of the population of the Russian villages of Novoivanovka and Novosaratovka in Azerbaijan's Kedabel Region.

Although these villages are located hundreds of kilometers away from Nagorno-Karabakh and dozens of kilometers from the Armenian-Azeri border, they have been heavily shelled from Armenia since August 3, 1992. There are victims, and some of the buildings have been ruined.

The statement says that the Russian population of these villages had to leave their homes and find temporary refuge in the Russian homes of Baku, Gyandzh and Sumgait.

Baku, Yerevan Postpone Talks on POWs, Hostages

OW1201131793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1206 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Talks between representatives of the Armenian and Azeri Defense Ministries on exchanging POWs and hostages, earlier scheduled for January 12, have been indefinitely postponed. The talks were to take place in Azerbaijan's Kazakh Region.

Baku laid the blame for postponing the talks on Yerevan. According to the Azeri Defense Ministry's press center, Yerevan announced on Monday evening that Armenia was not yet ready for the talks.

Meanwhile, head of the Armenian Defense Ministry's press center Armen Dulyan told INTERFAX that the talks had been postponed due to "unclear reasons" on the part of Azerbaijan. For instance, Baku proposed that the talks be held in a neutral territory—for example, in Tbilisi. Dulyan said that Armenia was not ready for that.

Armenian Helicopter Downed, Fighting Reported

NC1201170993 Baku TURAN in English 1501 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Text] Baku, 12 Jan (TURAN)—Today at 11 o'clock 20 minutes the forces of the Azeri air-defence shot down one more military helicopter of the Armenian air-forces in the region of the village of Vengli situated on the north of Karabakh. It is already the fifth Armenian helicopter destroyed on the territory of Azerbaijan in January.

The Azeri Ministry of Defence informs that during the last twenty-four hours the activity of the military actions practically in all directions has weakened. Last week the Azeri armed forces succeeded to fulfill a number of successful operations in the results of which the Armenian sub-units lost more than hundred soldiers, three helicopters, about ten tanks and armoured cars. For this period the Azeri Army has restored its control over the number of villages and territories in the Azeri regions of Lachinskiy, Kedabekskiy and Tauzskiy, captured earlier by the Armenian sub-units.

'Misunderstanding' Threatens Ties With Turkey

NC1201173293 Baku TURAN in English 1001 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Text] Baku, 12 Jan (TURAN)—The Turkish newspaper "SABAH" from January 6 referring to the Prime Minister of Turkey Suleyman Demirel informed that the President Elchibey delays the settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijan conflict and "he is incited to it by some persons from his own environment, KGB and a certain circles in Turkey."

This announcement provoked surprise in Baku. Next day the adviser of the Turkish minister of foreign affairs Ozdem Sanberk met with the Azeri Ambassador in Turkey Mamed Aliyev and assured him that the premier's words were misrepresented and asked to send best wishes to the President Elchibey.

The Prime Minister Demirel, on his turn, announced that some certain circles on the Caucasus are not interested in the peaceful participation of Turkey in this region.

At the same time, the President Elchibey said that this information was just misunderstanding and does not believe its truthfulness.

But such kinds of "misunderstandings" take part more often for the last time. We should remember the incident between Baku and Ankara arisen in connection with the deliveries of the Turkish grain to Armenia and the intention of Turkey to deliver electric power to Armenia.

Observers consider that negative opinions about the new Azeri leadership began to sound since autumn of last year. That time the number of the Turkish businessmen announced that there were not conditions for the development of business in Azerbaijan and the President Elchibey has no idea about the market economy and it is better to have business contacts with Kazakhstan or Uzbekistan. So, the authoritative Turkish banker Aktan Serdar disappointed by the Azeri market said that "the Azeri market leaves much to be desired".

In fact, the economical and political interests of the both countries do not combine as before.

Government Opens Tehran Embassy; To Open Consulate

OW1301141493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1208 GMT 13 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the Azeri Foreign Ministry, Azerbaijan has opened its embassy in Teheran and is shortly going to open a consulate in Tabriz.

Beside the CIS states, Iran is Azerbaijan's most important trade partner; the annual turnover between the two countries having reached $400 million. Iran is going to give Azerbaijan five million dollars' worth of food as credit, and offers Azerbaijan a wide range of motor vehicles and agricultural machinery on better terms than other countries do.

Experts from both countries are also currently discussing the construction of a railway between Azerbaijan and Nakhichevan running through Iranian territory.

Georgia

Shevardnadze Addresses Parliament Opening Session

OW1201185193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1837 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Report prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature—item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "Dictatorship cannot take place here, let no one count on it because the people will not permit it," the head of state, Eduard Shevardnadze, said while speaking at today's opening of the regular session of the parliament convened in connection with the difficult situation in the republic.

E. Shevardnadze pointed out the exceptional importance of speeding up the current level of the process of working out and adopting new laws: "Without this we cannot move forward." In his opinion, what has been done in recent times in this direction is not little, however not all the laws adopted in the republic can be "considered as perfect."

Concerning the conflict in Abkhazia, the chairman of the parliament admitted: "We should not have started the war, but we were not even prepared for it. If we had planned for it then we would have formed an army and acquired weapons."

In the opinion of E. Shevardnadze, the process of converting the economy of the country "on military rails is very difficult." It started only recently with the formation of a new government. Now the time has come for active operations in other areas as well. Shevardnadze

emphasized that no country whose economy is in such a difficult condition can win a war.

The head of state stressed that the main task before the republic is to "resolve the financial problems." "So long as we are not thrown out of the ruble zone, we must remain there," Shevardnadze said. To go over to our own currency, would mean, now for Georgia, "to climb into a sack and tie it from the top with a cord." He said that "If any political party has a program better than the one we have proposed, then we are ready to concede our place to them even today. What we need is the unity of Georgia." The resources of the republic have "almost been exhausted," Shevardnadze admitted. "If not for the aid from Western countries, there would have been, in the country, not simply famine but the scourge of mass death of the population," he said. The head of the Georgian state highly appreciated the humanitarian aid given by the USA.

On international issues, E. Shevardnadze emphasized that "he expects a lot" from the forthcoming trip to Iran. He pointed out the necessity to intensively develop bilateral relations with republics of central Asia. However the immediate task, in his opinion, is still the "restoration of contacts with regions of the Russian Federation" which must go parallel with the development and strengthening of relations with Turkey, Iran, Azerbaijan and other countries. The chairman of the Georgian parliament announced the agreement reached with Leonid Kravchuk to visit Ukraine and also of his plans to visit Germany and the USA. With this E. Shevardnadze announced that a number of western countries have promised to help the republic with 10 billion rubles to form a stabilization fund.

The Georgian head of state drew attention to the attempt by some forces to "oppose the parliament with armed force, but they are doomed to failure." He assured that the parliament is now doing everything to form a unified armed forces. According to him there is also the "tendency by the national liberation movement to oppose the parliament, but this too will not work." In the parliament today we are "together building a democratic society along with representatives of this movement and communists." The national liberation movement, in the opinion of Shevardnadze, is coming out today as an entity. It has accomplished its mission in overthrowing "the old order and the communist regime of Gamsakhurdia." Today before them stands a creative task - constructing a democratic society. "We have a future and the chance to save Georgia, and it is necessary to do everything so that she may as soon as possible become a developed country in the world community."

Defends Defense Minister

OW1201200193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1946 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze, the head of the Georgian parliament, believes that "there are no forces in the republic now capable to accomplish a coup." This was his reaction to the appearance of one of the leaders of the National-democratic party of Georgia, Irina Sarishvili [name as received], in the Georgian parliament on Tuesday. In particular, she declared that the Georgian Defense minister, Tengiz Kitovani, is practically preparing another military coup in the country. To this effect she proposed "to say Kitovani 'Thank you' for his services" and to release him from his post.

Shevardnadze categorically demanded to stop the discussions on this issue. "When I understand that Mr Kitovani is incapable to fulfil his duties I shall be the first to raise the issue about his dismissal," the Georgian leader said. According to Shevardnadze, "Those who try to set on to fight the people with the army are just exerting vain efforts."

Shevardnadze, U.S. Aid Coordinator Confer

LD1201141793 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 2129 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Text] Richard Armitage, U.S. special assistant secretary of state and coordinator of emergency humanitarian aid to former republics of the Soviet Union, has paid a one-day visit to Tbilisi. The delegation was received by E. Shevardnadze, head of state. The main aim of the visit by the U.S. Government delegation was to examine issues involved in providing Georgia with humanitarian aid and seeing the current economic situation in the republic at first hand.

Richard Armitage announced that the United States will send the republic $10 million worth of food for children, medicines, and flour this January.

During the meeting Richard Armitage gave E. Shevardnadze a personal message from George Bush stating all the steps being taken to give humanitarian aid to Georgia.

Delegation in Iran to Prepare Shevardnadze Visit

LD1201140593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1126 GMT 12 Jan 93

[By SAKINFORM-TASS correspondent Yuriy Goldman]

[Text] Tbilisi January 12 (ITAR-TASS)—Officials of the Georgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and of the prime minister's staff and the leaders of a series of ministries and departments flew Tuesday to Tehran to prepare for a visit of Eduard Shevardnadze.

Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze said in an interview with SAKINFORM-TASS that his visit to Iran, scheduled for January 20, will open "a new era in the history of relations between Georgia and Iran."

During the visit, a package of agreements on collaboration between the two states in economics and politics will be signed.